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PREFACE

THIS part, in which the serial numbers enter the three thousands, consists largely of documentary texts chosen for the interest of their individual content. Some illuminate the history and administration of Roman Egypt. Others, in dated literary hands, have a palaeographic value (**3030, 3034, 3051, 3076**). Others again go beyond the Egyptian context, and contribute to the study of Roman law (**3016**), of the Roman Empire (**3019–3023**), and of the Early Church (**3035, 3055, 3057**).

Mr P. J. Parsons, who is responsible for this part, wishes to record his warmest gratitude for the many corrections and improvements (often not specifically acknowledged) which he owes to the other general editors and to Prof. H. Lloyd-Jones, Dr. M. L. West, and Prof. H. C. Youtie.

The compositors and readers of the Oxford University Press have exercised their customary skill and patience in the production of the volume. The index is the work of Dr. M. W. Haslam.

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J. R. REA
E. G. TURNER
General Editors of the Graeco-Roman Memoirs

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XXXVI. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed slightly below the line. In the new literary texts, corrections and annotations which appear to be in a different hand from that of the original scribe are printed in thick type. Non-literary texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets ⟦ ⟧ a deletion, the signs ˋ ´ an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. In the new literary texts letters not read or marked as doubtful in the literal transcript may be read or appear without the dot marking doubt in the reconstruction if the context justifies this. Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (1968). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

NOTE ON INVENTORY NUMBERS

The inventory numbers in general follow a set pattern, of the form 20 3B.37/D (3)a. Here '20' is the number of the present cardboard box; '3B' refers to Grenfell and Hunt's third campaign at Oxyrhynchus; '37' is the series number given inside that year to the metal packing box; 'D' indicates a layer of papyri inside that box. A few inventory numbers have the form A. B.32/A(6); these refer to the separate series of Ashmolean boxes.

NOTE ON THE TERMS 'RECTO' AND 'VERSO', 'FRONT' AND 'BACK' AND THE USE OF ARROWS (→, ↓)

THE terms 'recto' and 'verso' are strictly applicable to papyrus only in those cases (which are in a minority) where a recognizable part of a roll is preserved. If there is doubt whether a roll can be recognized, the terms used here are 'front' and 'back', in conjunction with arrows placed beside the first line of the text to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the writing. A horizontal arrow (→) means that the fibres run in the same direction as the lines of writing; a vertical arrow (↓) means that the fibres run at right angles to the lines of writing.

To avoid confusion it must be stressed that an arrow of this sort refers always to the relationship of the writing to the surface on which it stands, that is, the vertical arrow is not used simply to indicate the back of a papyrus which has on the front a text running parallel with the fibres. It means that the writing of the text on the side in question runs at right angles to the fibres. The addresses of letters and other endorsements are often written parallel with the fibres on the back, while the main text is written parallel with the fibres on the front. It will be readily understood that because of the method of manufacture of papyrus sheets this means that the endorsement runs at right angles to the text on the front. However, since an arrow refers only to a single surface, such an endorsement will be preceded by the note 'Back →'.

These signs can be applied to codices, since in them the writing is normally only horizontal across the page. The arrow in horizontal position → will therefore indicate a page of a codex in which the fibres run in the same direction as the writing, horizontally; an arrow in a vertical position will mean that the writing, if horizontal, crosses the fibres, which are by inference vertical. It is necessary to set this point out explicitly since the basis of use of the signs → ↓ is not that laid down in P. Antinoopolis III p. xii; and a theoretical defect of the new basis is that it cannot be used to describe a page of a codex which bears no writing.

When the terms 'recto' and 'verso' are applied to parchment codices, it is proposed to retain the time-honoured meanings 'recto' = a right-hand page, 'verso' = a left-hand page.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PAPYRI PUBLISHED BY THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

P. Ant. II 88. 3. For *τοῦ Κοπτείτου κρ[ὶ τῆ]ς μητρός* read *τοῦ Κουσσείτου κά[τω. τῆ]ς μητρὸς κτλ.* (See J. Bingen, *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles* 231–4.)

P. Ant. II 99. 14. For]. *πρότερον* read]*ψηροτερον*, e.g. *πο*]*ψηρότερον*. (E. G. Turner.)

I. NEW LITERARY AND SUBLITERARY TEXTS

2999. Hesiod, *Ἠοῖαι* or *Μεγάλαι Ἠοῖαι*

Plate I

A. 16 6E — 2·2 × 11·6 cm. — Second/third century

A narrow strip, with the first few letters of twelve consecutive lines. The hand is a small and neatly executed example of the Severe Style. On the back, traces of cursive.

Line 12, if the articulation *ἠ' οἴη(ς)* is accepted, points clearly to the Hesiodic *Ἠοῖαι* or *Μεγάλαι Ἠοῖαι*; and the general content confirms this attribution.

3–11 belong together; the beginning of the section is marked by a forked paragraphus. The matter parallels fr. 251 MW: sons of Butes (8) marry daughters of Hyllus (10) in the house of Ceyx (3? 5?).

12 should begin a new section. But it is followed (not preceded) by a forked paragraphus, and by a blank space of *c.* 5·5 cm. before the foot (which may or may not be the original lower edge). The space would be large for a normal margin. The most obvious explanation is, that we have the end of a roll and that 12 is a *reclamans*. Against this it must be said that *reclamantes* are normally marked off; and in any case there is no certain instance later than the first century A.D. (See S. West, *Scriptorium* 17 (1963) 314 f.) But there is a parallel in the Xenophon, **698**: this too is later (third century) and here too the coronis follows the linking words. The scribes of both the Hesiod and the Xenophon may have misunderstood an antique exemplar.

Otherwise we should have to assume that the paragraphus under line 12 is misplaced; or that the single line constitutes a self-contained episode.

The fragment has some structural interest. The paragraphus below line 2 should begin a new section; but no part of *ἠ' οἴη* can be read in line 3; therefore it begins a new sub-section, as e.g. fr. 25. 34, not a completely new family. But to what genealogy does it belong? Fr. 251, from the *Μεγάλαι Ἠοῖαι*, narrates the same marriage in an account of the family of Hyllus. If the same subject was treated in **2999**, it will have been from some other angle: the Butidae, perhaps, or Ceyx.

If our fragment is the end of a roll, and line 12 was a *reclamans*, we could infer that line 11 ended a book. It is tempting to identify 12 with fr. 73. 1, which is restored *exempli gratia* as *ἠ' οἴη Ϛχοινῆος ἀγακλε*]*ιτοῖο ἄνακτος*; and in that case the new book began with the episode of Atalanta. Dr. M. L. West, to whom I am much indebted, remarks that fr. 73. 1 is the first line of a column, as one might expect the first line of a book to be; and suggests that the division is between books I (ending with **2999** 11) and II (beginning with Atalanta). But of course the identification and explanation of line 12 is by no means certain.

The hand is not, so far as I can tell, the same as in any of the manuscripts published in POxy. xxviii.

elder, Procne, in marriage with Tereus the king of the Thracians, who had by her a son whom he named Itys. As time passed, and Procne wished to see her sister, she asked Tereus to travel to Athens to bring (her back). He, after reaching Athens and receiving the girl from Pandion and making half the return journey, fell in love with the girl. And he disregarded his trust and violated her. But, as a precaution in case she should tell her sister, he cut out the girl's tongue. On arriving in Thrace, and Philomela being unable to speak her misfortune, she revealed it by means of a piece of weaving. When Procne realized the truth, driven mad by jealousy . . . she took Itys and killed him and after cooking him served him up to Tereus. He ate the meal without realizing. The women took to flight and became, one of them a nightingale, one a swallow, and Tereus a hoopoe.'

1 [ἡ ὑ]πόθεcιc: the two traces before θ look like the foot of an upright, followed by a short upright (unless this is ink which has run on a prominent fibre). I have taken them to belong to a π (right foot) and to a straight-sided ο, but it is not (palaeographically) a reading which leaps to the eye. The space will not allow [οὐ ἡ ὑ]πόθεcιc or [ἡ δὲ ὑ]πόθεcιc.

3 Πρόκ⟨ν⟩ην: so in 5 but not in 9. Perhaps a phonetic error, though I can find no parallel closer than δραχ⟨μ⟩ή, which occurs sporadically in documents (Dr. Gignac refers to BGU 1602 B 11, PRossGeorg. II 19. 54, PTebt. 397. 32, Wilcken, *Ostr.* 674. 3).

4 πρεcβυτερωτέραν: paralleled only in the document M. *Chr.* 57. 15. Double comparatives of course occur early, and become frequent later; but the double -τεροc is not expected (Mayser i 2. 61 f., Schwyzer i 535. 8). Perhaps then (as Rea suggests) a simple error: πρεcβυ{τερω}τέραν.

13 Perhaps ἐγ[ιτρε]φθείc. (ἐγ[χειρι]cθείc would suit the sense equally, and fill the lacuna, for which [ιτρε] is a little short. But the trace before θ fits the flat-based loop of φ better than the lower curl of c.)

18 ff. The lines of the second column have lost about half their length. The very probable restorations in 21, 24, 31, and 32 give line-lengths of 23, 24, 21, and 19 letters.

23 δι' ὕφο[νc is certain, not ὑφῆc or ὑφάcματοc. The account must have been brief and unexplicit, in the space available: contrast Apollodorus 3. 14. 8 ὑφήναca ἐν πέπλῳ γράμματα; Conon, *Narr.* (*FGrH* 26 F 1) 31 πέπλον ὑφαίνουca γράφει τὰ πάθη τοῖc νήμαcι.

27 νηυ.ερεινοιc̄: of the damaged letter there remains the right-hand half: an angle best suited to ο or perhaps to δ (though this is normally wider and flatter). Under the corruption there should be a reference to the Erinyes: cf. remotely Ach. Tat. 5. 5. 6–8 δύο γυναῖκεc εἰc ἓν πνέουcαι καὶ ὕβρει κεράcαcαι τὴν ζηλοτυπίαν δεῖπνον ἐπινοοῦcι τῶν γάμων ἀτυχέcτερον . . . ἐδείπνηcεν ὁ Τηρεὺc δεῖπνον Ἐρινύων. If the readings are right, emendation is required: (*a*) καὶ [γενομέ]νη ὑπεριὺc (but the adjective is not attested); (*b*) καὶ [μεμανημέ]νη ὑ⟨π⟩ὸ Ἐρινύ⟨ο⟩c (Rea).

Alternatively, we might try to read νη ἡ δ' Ἐρεινοὶc (for -ὺc): '. . . she, like a Fury, . . .'. This runs into two difficulties: (*a*) υ̣.ερεινοιc looks a better reading than η̣.ερεινοιc (there is no sign of the left upright of η); (*b*) the sentence in 24–6 is left without a main verb.

33 The end, apparently, though the break in the papyrus might conceal further writing in the same line.

II. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

3014. Gnomon of the Idios Logos §§ 35–41

Plate VII

20 3B.30/F (1–3) b — 12·5 × 22 cm. — First century

The *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* has been known so far only from the complete copy published as BGU V. The new text comprises a single column to full height, damaged at the left and in places much rubbed. One initial trace remains from a second column. The back is blank.

The hand is a rapid professional cursive, comparable e.g. with Schubart, *Pal.* Abb. 28 (A.D. 31) and 30 (A.D. 40/1), *PGB* 15b (A.D. 39) and 16a (A.D. 42). Short blanks are used as punctuation in lines 3, 12, and 13; blank line-spaces separate the sections (one of them, between 4 and 5, shows the end of an extended paragraphus).

The text in BGU was compiled, if not copied, under Antoninus Pius. **3014**, to judge from the hand, belongs as much as a century earlier. It avoids some minor errors: 12 οἱ μὲν (ὁ μὲν BGU), 17 τῷ ἥττονι (ηγτονι BGU); at 13 it has the expected ἡμίcει, against ἡμ[ιcι]ᾳ which Schubart read reluctantly on palaeographic grounds. But there are more substantive variations:

3 f. the property of soldiers who die intestate and without heirs *eiusdem generis* goes to the camp: **3014** is now the earliest evidence for this rule; BGU omits the clause.

9 f. those who go into self-imposed exile are allowed one-twelfth of their property. BGU attributes this concession to Antoninus Pius, **3014** to some earlier (but illegible) authority. Both copies have αὐτοῖc masculine (against Naber's misguided αὐταῖc, see *Museum*, 1920, p. 221).

17 the spacing in **3014** excludes the garbled text of BGU. I suspect that Αἰγυπτίοιc alone stood here, and that ἢ ἀcτοῖc is a marginal addition (deriving from a later change of law?) which BGU misplaced.

By and large, however, the text shows remarkable stability. We cannot tell whether the numeration of sections was the same. Only one number survives, that is $\overline{\mu}$[for the first section of column two. This is $\overline{\mu\beta}$ in BGU: so there can have been no very large variation.

→ τοὺς στρατευομένους] κ[αὶ] ἀδιαθέτους τελευτῶντας § 35 [
ἐξὸν τέκνοις καὶ συγγεν]ές[ιν] κληρονομεῖν ὅταν τοῦ μ[
αὐτοῦ γένους ὦσιν ο]ἱ μετερχόμενοι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ [
c. 10].[....]...η ⸏παρεμβολη (vac.) [
]— [
5 τῶν ἐπὶ φόνοι]ς ἢ μείζοσιν ἁμαρτήμασιν κολαζο- § 36 [
μένων ἢ καὶ διὰ] ὁμοίας αἰτίας αὐθαίρετον φυγὴν ἑ- [
λομένων τὰ ὑ]πάρχοντα ἀναλαμβάνεται δίδοτ[αι ..
c. 12]..των καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐν ἀργυρίοις ..[..
c. 14]. αὐτοῖς δὲ τὸ δωδέκατον ὑπὸ [
10 c. 12]ον.[.].[.]....ου συνεχωρήθη (vac.) [
] [
οἱ παρὰ προστ]άγματα βασιλέων ἢ ἐπάρχων τι πρ[άξαν- § 37
τες ἀκαταλλήλως] ἐζημιώθησαν οἱ μὲν τετάρτῳ μέρει [
τῆς οὐσίας οἱ δὲ] ἡμίσει ἄλλοι δὲ ἐξ ὅλων (vac.) [
] [
οἱ ἐξ ἀστῆς κ]αὶ Αἰγυπτ[ί]ου γενόμ[ε]νοι μέν[ουσι μὲν § 38
15 Αἰγύπτιοι ἀμφοτέρου]ς δὲ κληρονομοῦσι τοὺ[ς γονεῖς
] [
Ῥωμαίου ἢ Ῥωμ]αίας κατ' ἄγγυαν συνελθ[όντων § 39
c. 14 τ]ὰ τέκνα τῷ ἥττονι γένει ἀ[κολουθεῖ
] [
τὰ περὶ τῶν εἰ]σαγ[ό]ντων οὓς μὴ δεῖ εἰς τὴ[ν Ἀλεξανδρέ- § 40
ων πολιτεία]ν [νῦν] ἡγεμο[νι]κῆς γέ[γονεν διαγνώσεως
] [
20 ἐὰν Αἰγύπτιος ἐκ κοπ]ρίας ἀν[έ]λη[ται § 41

9 ὕπο (= ὕπο)

1–3 This article is usually thought to derive from a letter of Hadrian of A.D. 119 (M. *Chr.* 373). This letter allows soldiers' children, born during the period of service, to claim *ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους τοῦ διατάγματος, οὗ καὶ τοῖς πρὸς γένους συγγενέσι δίδοται.* The new copy of the *Gnomon* is most probably earlier than Hadrian. Either then line 2 must be supplemented somehow else; or the inference is false. But in any case the provisions of the *Gnomon* and of the Letter are not coextensive. Children might have been born to soldiers before they entered the army; and these were presumably legitimate. Children born during the period of service were illegitimate, because their fathers were legally debarred from marriage. Hadrian is concerned only with the illegitimate; the innovation is to allow them rights under the clause *unde cognati*. The *Gnomon* is formulated more generally, and perhaps refers to legitimate offspring.

3–4 In BGU article 35 finishes at *οἱ μετερχόμενοι*. The new clause should refer to cases in which

there are no heirs *eiusdem generis*. At the end *εμβολη* is clear, *παρεμβολη* possible. The point must be that the dead man's property goes to the camp as a whole. This arrangement is implied in a letter of Hadrian (*Dig.* 28. 3. 6. 7) about succession in cases of suicide: 'divus Hadrianus dedit epistula ad Pomponium Falconem ut, si quidem ob conscientiam delicti militaris mori maluit, irritum sit eius testamentum; quod si taedio vitae vel dolore, valere testamentum, aut si intestato decessit cognatis aut, si non sint, legioni ista sint vindicanda.' (Cf. Ulpian, *Dig.* 40. 5. 4. 17.) A full statement in a constitution of A.D. 347, *Cod. Theod.* 5. 6. 1 = *Cod. Just.* 6. 62. 2: '. . . cum aliquis fuerit rebus humanis exemptus atque intestatus sine legitimo herede decesserit, ad vexillationem in qua militaverit res eiusdem necessario pervenire.'

]...η παρεμβολη: perhaps e.g. δίδοτ]αι τῇ παρεμβολῇ (for the verb cf. *Gnomon* line 66); the only doubt is the tau of τῇ, where one would expect the vertical to be visible. The traces allow]αι but not]ει. But of course it may have been a nominative,]... ἡ παρεμβολή.

7 ff. BGU reads: δίδοται δὲ τέκνοις αὐτῶν τὸ ῖ καὶ ταῖς γυ[ναι]ξὶν αἱ ἐν ἀργυρίῳ προῖκες, καὶ αὐτοῖς δὲ τὸ ῖβ Ἀντωνῖνο[ς] Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος συνεχώρησεν. **3014** differed slightly in several places:

7–9 Following BGU we might reconstruct: δίδοτ[αι δὲ | τὸ ῖ τοῖς τέκνοις] αὐτῶν καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ⟨αἱ⟩ ἐν ἀργυρίοις προ[οῖ|κες. This satisfies the traces. But (1) the supplement at the beginning of 8 is long, even given the elasticity of cursive hands; (2) the fraction is written in line 9 as word, not numeral; (3) line 9 needs an extra word, if προ[οῖκες ..... κα]ὶ αὐτοῖς δὲ is right. (1) and (2) could be eliminated by assuming an omission:] αὐτῶν ⟨τὸ δέκατον⟩. I see no way of dealing with (3).

9–10 There is nothing against κα]ὶ αὐτοῖς δὲ; for the rest, the clause will have been the same in outline as in BGU, but couched in the passive. The concession is attributed to someone, whose name in the genitive should follow ὑπὸ at the beginning of line 10. If the someone was an emperor, the wording should follow one of two basic patterns: τοῦ θεοῦ *X*; or *X* καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου.

The traces are substantial. After]ου parts of horizontal and upright (π, τ, υ ?); then a small space which may or may not have contained a whole letter; then the foot of an upright; then another small space; then part of a loop (ο, ρ, α?); then horizontal and upright as of τ or ligatured ι; then foot of upright with another point high up above it; then a point of ink at line height: e.g.].τλου or].ιλου, even perhaps].λλου. κυρίου seems to be excluded; and I can fit no imperial name (it would have in any case to be a long one).

Legal sources (Mommsen, *Strafrecht* 1010 f.) do not help. They give the purpose of the concession as *viaticum*; but again I cannot identify ἐνοδίου (or ἐφ-) or ὁδοιπορικοῦ or οὐιατικοῦ here.

16 BGU has λθ' Ῥωμαίου ἢ Ῥωμαίας κατ' ἄγνοιαν συνελθόντων ἢ ἀστοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις τὰ τέκνα ἥττονι γένει ἀκολουθεῖ. In this ἀστοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις is clearly garbled, and ἥττονι for τῷ ἥττονι is simple error. Line 17 may have had the correct version of the first phrase as it does of the second; the whole phrase would certainly be long for the space, but Αἰγυπτίοις by itself would fit neatly; BGU will have incorporated and misplaced a marginal note.

3015. Extracts from Court Records

35 4B.101/K (5) 22·2 × 21 cm. Early 2nd century

This sheet, which contains items of case-law about testamentary disposition, has been folded nine times across the writing, and then in half along its width; these folds explain the repeated damage-pattern in lines 14–16. The copy was made after the death of Trajan (6, 13), but not much after, to judge from the hand. The back is blank.

Three decisions are cited. Of the first (1–5) only the end remains. The second and third are complete: one (6–12) dates from 8 May 109; the other (13–27) from an unknown year of Trajan; in both the judge is the prefect Sulpicius Similis; both begin with the 'extract formula' (8, 14), and mention consultation with the consilium and a legal assessor. All three decisions, then, are probably extracted from the prefect's

commentarii; and the extract comprises his general statement about the point of law, followed by the verdict (which is marked off in 4 and 25 by the asyndeton).

This collection has considerable similarity with **2757**, which contains (in consecutive columns) decisions of the prefects Colo (A.D. 70) and Lupus (71/2–72/3). The outline is much the same: date, parties, extract phrase. The two columns carry the numbers 15 and 1[6]: an extensive series. It might be that **3015** belonged to this series, and had the name of Similis as its heading (now lost). In favour of this supposition is community of subject: **2757** ii concerns the right of fathers to disinherit any of their children at choice, much the same point as **3015** 22 f.; **2757** i deals with a contract made by a man now dead, so that the issue may have been similar. On the other hand, **2757** and **3015** seem unlikely to belong to the same roll: the hands are different, and **3015**, with its wide left margin (4 cm.) and straight right edge, looks like a separate sheet. Further, **2757** was found in the third year of Grenfell and Hunt's excavations, **3015** in the fourth.

All three cases concern the rights of testators. In the first the prefect announces his intention of judging by 'the laws of the Egyptians' (3); in the second he decides that the testator had full discretion, as being an 'Egyptian'; in the third he refers simply to 'the law' (20). It seems clear, then, that Similis made his decisions under local law, which was less strict in its provisions; and this is why he needs the help of Artemidorus the solicitor, and from him cites this law at second hand.

It is an interesting question whether this is in some way a new departure. Similis deals with a similar question in the edict **237** viii 21 ff. + PMerton iii 101, which concerns the rights of Egyptian women over their husbands' property under local law (*ἐγχώρια νόμιμα*). The edict and the decisions in **3015** would fit the thesis of Taubenschlag about *οἱ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων νόμοι* (*Law*[2] 6, *Op. Min.* ii 108 f.): he suggested that the phrase designates a new code, introduced in the second century and applicable to all 'Egyptians' in the Roman sense (including, that is, the Greeks of the metropoleis). It might be, then, that Similis had taken some step to recognize or systematize local law in the matter of matrimonial and inherited property; and found himself dealing with a whole group of test-cases in consequence. But there are objections to the general thesis: see Wolff, *ZSS* 70 (1953) 42 f. And in particular **2757** ii seems to presuppose a very similar situation *c.* A.D. 72: there too a *νομικός* expounds 'the laws', and concludes that the testator has full discretion; only a specific reference to 'Egyptians' is missing.

πανπράσιον (21) is a new word, which apparently describes a practice familiar from demotic contracts. Our text shows the same practice in use, in the early second century, among the Greeks of the metropoleis.

I have particular obligations to Prof. P. W. Pestman, for a discussion of this difficult document.

→]..[..]...[..].....[

...]..μ̣ο̣ῥ̣.κ[].[]υει κάλλιστόν ἐστιν αὐτοὺς
δικ]αιοδοτεῖν π[ρὸ]ς τ̣ο̣ὺς Αἰγυπτίων νόμους
ἐ]φ' οἷς ἔξεστι κ[α]ὶ̣ μεταδιατίθεσθαι· καλῶς δι-
5 έθε]το ὁ τελευτής[α]ς.
(ἔτους) ιβ θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παχὼν ι̅γ̅· Ἄρειος καὶ Σαραπίων
ἀμφότεροι Πτολεμαίου πρὸς Ἀθηνόδωρον καὶ
Ἀπολλώνιον· ἐκ τῶν ῥηθέντων· Σουλ(πίκιος)
Σίμιλις πυθόμενος Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ ἐξη-
10 γουμένου τ̣ο̣[ὺς] ν̣όμους περὶ τοῦ πράγματος
καὶ συλλαλήσας τοῖς συμ[β]ούλοις ἔφη· Αἰγύ-
π]τιος εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν καθὼς βούλεται διαθέσθαι.
(ἔτους) ..] θεοῦ Τρα[ι]αν[ο]ῦ Τῦβι ῥ̅ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ Τρύφωνα
πρὸ]ς Δι̣ὸ̣[.....] μεθ' ἕ[τερα]· Σουλ[πίκι]ος Σίμιλις
15 συλ]λ̣α̣λ̣ή̣[σας τοῖ]ς συν̣β̣[ούλοις] καὶ ἀνα[κοιν]ωσάμεν̣[ος
Ἀρ]τ̣εμιδ̣ώ̣ρ̣ῳ ν̣ομικῷ ἔ[φη· λ]έγεται .[...].ονε.[....
..].. οὔτε ἡ γυνὴ ἐφ' ἧς καινότερόν τι συνεφώνη[σεν
ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ γαμοῦντος οὔτε οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῆς περίεισι
οἷς ἐδύνατο κατέχεσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν συμφωνίαν,
20 ἄκυρόν ἐστιν ἤδη τοῦτο τὸ γράμμα· ὁ δὲ νόμος ὡς λέ-
γεται δίδωσιν ἐξουσίαν τῶι τὸ πανπράσιον οἰκονομή-
σαντι καὶ κ̣ατασχόντ̣ι̣ τοῖς τέκνοις τὰ ἴδια ἐκλέ-
ξασθαι ἐξ̣ α̣ὐ̣τ̣ῶν ἕνα καὶ κληρονόμον ποιῆσαι· οὐκοῦν
παραπεσούσης τῆς δευτέρας ἀσφαλείας εἰς τὴν προ-
25 τέραν ἀνέκαμψεν τὸ δίκαιον· ἐξ̣ῆν αὐτῷ ὡς ἐβούλετο
διαθέσθαι κληρονόμους καταλιπόντι τοὺς παῖδας αὐ-
τοῦ ἐφ' οἷς ἐποιήσατο τὸ πανπράσιον.

8 *σουλ'* 21 *οικονομη-*: *οι* suprascript above an undeleted *ω*

'"... it is best that they should decide cases in accordance with the laws of the Egyptians—under which it is possible even to alter the terms of the will. The will which the deceased made is in order."

'Yr. 12 of the deified Trajan, Pachon 13. Arius and Sarapion, both sons of Ptolemaeus, against Athenodorus and Apollonius. From the pleadings. Sulpicius Similis, after inquiring about the case from Artemidorus the interpreter of the laws and talking with his advisers, said: "As an Egyptian, he had the right to make his will on whatever terms he wished."

'[Yr. ...] of the deified Trajan, Tybi 20. In the case of Tryphon etc. against Did..... After

other matter. Sulpicius Similis, after talking with his advisers and referring the case to Artemidorus the lawyer, said: ". . . neither the wife, over whom the father of the bridegroom made a more recent agreement, nor her sons, are alive, on which parties the (property) in the agreement could be entailed—this document is now void. The law, I am told, gives to a man who has negotiated a 'general sale', even though he has entailed his property on his children, the power to choose out one of them and make this one his heir. It is therefore (not?) the case that, with the disappearance of the second bond, the right reverts to the first one. It was open to him to make his will on whatever terms he wished, (provided that?) he left as heirs those children of his in whose name he made the 'general sale'." '

1–2 The validity of a will has been challenged. The prefect dismisses the claim, on the ground that under the 'Egyptian laws' the testator had a perfect right to change his dispositions.

What is in question, then, is the right *μεταδιατίθεσθαι*. This is a right which Greek wills often reserve (e.g. PStrass. 284. 4, BGU 1654. 6, PWisc. 13. 3); BGU 895 documents the disposal of the estate of a *μεταδιατιθεμένη*. The plaintiff obviously could not claim that the procedure was illegal in all circumstances. There must have been something special about the earlier will: perhaps a *κατοχή*.

2 Perhaps]*γομον ουκ* [*ἔ*]*χ*[*ο*]*υσι*. (Of]*γ* only the diagonal, and a spot of ink suitable for the second vertical; of the first *ο* a left-hand arc. After *-μον* a short space, apparently blank. Of *υ* in *ουκ*, only the top left curl. Then]*χ*[]*υσι* rather than]*λ*[]*υσι*.) If this is right, I suppose the general sense is: 'To those who have no claim to be judged by (Roman? Greek?) law, we do best to return judgements by Egyptian law'; write *νόμον* rather than e.g. *κληρο*]*νόμον*. But I cannot make a smooth sentence. Is [*ἔ*]*χ*[*ο*]*υσι* verb or participle? Is *αὐτοὺς* subject of *δικ*]*αιοδοτεῖν*? or object? (but then a dative might be expected).

9 f. *Ἀρτεμιδώρου*: on the *nomikoi* see Taubenschlag, *Op. Min.* ii 161 f.; W. Kunkel, *Herkunft u. soziale Stellung*[2] 269 f. This Artemidorus might be identified with Clau. Artemidorus, who appears in the same capacity in a similar case of A.D. 124 (M. *Chr.* 84): see 11 f. note.

11 f. The same general principle is cited in M. *Chr.* 84. 16 f. (with which cf. **2757** ii). There Blaesius Marianus, by delegation from the prefect Haterius Nepos, hears a case about inheritance: Aphrodisius had entered into an *ἄγραφος γάμος* with Sarapous; one of their sons, Horigenes, had died, bequeathing his estate to one of his brothers and to his cousin Ammonius; Ammonius now claims that the bequest was valid, because Egyptians may leave their property to whomever they like; Aphrodisius argues against him that the son of an unwritten marriage has no right to make a will in his father's lifetime. Marianus, after consulting with Clau. Artemidorus, rejected Ammonius' claim.

Why does Marianus reject the general principle? Arangio-Ruiz suggested that Marianus gave Roman practice the preference over native law: but there are arguments against this view (H. J. Wolff, *Written and Unwritten Marriages* 60 ff.), especially if it is the same Artemidorus who gives expert advice in both M. *Chr.* 84 and **3015**. More probably, the principle *καθὼς βούλεται διαθέσθαι* was an established one; but the particular case of a son of an unwritten marriage, making a will in his father's lifetime, does not fall under its provisions. Note the implication (M. *Chr.* 84. 28 f.) that the son of a written marriage would be in a different position.

16 ff. I am not clear about the outline of this complicated case; and the ambiguity of *ουκουν* in 23 adds to the obscurity. The persons involved are: the father (F), his son who marries (S), a wife (W), sons of W. It seems likely that W is the wife of S (rather than F); and that the other children (22, 26) are children of F. The point at issue must be the will of F. The difficulty lies in deciding how many separate documents are referred to. Very tentatively I suggest three stages:

(1) *πανπράσιον*: F, when he married, 'sold' his property to his wife (21 note) and entailed it on their children. This agreement is called *προτέρα* (*ἀσφάλεια*) in 24 f.

(2) F's son S marries W; F makes some agreement in favour of W and her children. This agreement is referred to by *καινότερόν τι* (17: 'later' than stage 1?), *συμφωνία* (19), *γράμμα* (20), *δευτέρα ἀσφάλεια* (24). W and her sons die (18), so that the agreement lapses (24).

(3) F makes a will, in which he names one of his children sole heir (23). This heir must be the defendant of the suit, i.e. the Did[ ] of 14.

Two points are therefore central to the decision: that the beneficiaries of (2) are dead, and the agreement accordingly irrelevant; and that the existence of (1) is no bar to (3).

Further questions could be asked about the real situation: how much of the property was involved at each stage? and how far do the stages overlap temporally? Prof. Pestman suggests that (1) concerned the whole estate; (2) concedes part of the estate to W and her children; (3) appointed a sole heir to the rest, at a time when (2) was still valid (this explains why (2) comes into the case at all). Later W and her sons died, and F died, so that the whole property is now in play.

Any reconstruction has to explain two sections of the argument in which the wording is ambiguous:

23 ff. *οὐκουν* might be positive or negative. If negative, the line is: 'The "sale" does not exclude the appointment of a single heir; therefore it is not the case that the lapsing of the second agreement revalidates the first (because the third—the will—is in fact valid).' If *οὐκοῦν* is positive, and the basic situation has been correctly described, we shall have to transpose stages (2) and (3). Argument: 'The "sale" does not exclude the appointment of a single heir; therefore it is the case that the lapsing of the second agreement (in favour of W and her children) revives the former (agreement under which Did[ ] was made sole heir).'

26 *καταλιπόντι* might represent more than one mood. Does it mean 'although he had (originally) left (all) the children as heirs . . .'? Or 'provided that his heirs (or in this case, single heir) are those (or among those) in favour of whom the "sale" was originally made'? Both elliptical.

16 f. Unless *ἄκυρόν ἐστιν ἤδη* (20) stands in asyndeton, we need a subordinating conjunction; in fact *ἐπ*]*ε*̣ fits well in 17 (before *οὔτε* a single upright, and before that indeterminate spots of ink).

λ]*έγεται* begins the sentence; there is no space for *ὡς* before it. In what follows, ̣[is the left tip of a high horizontal (*π*? *τ*?);]̣ is probably *θ* or *τ*; ̣[perhaps *c*, assuming that the trace below is the beginning of 17 *η*[.

21 *πανπράσιον*: here and in 27; otherwise only in an unpublished petition to Petronius Mamertinus, prefect A.D. 133/7 (35 4B.64/D (1) a). In the petition the situation is much the same as here. The petitioner's father married according to *τὰς νομίμας παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις* [*c*]*υγγραφάς*, and made a *κατοχή* of the property of both parents (a special share for the eldest son, other shares for the brothers); here too the word *πανπράσιον* occurs (damaged context) in connection with *κατέχειν*; and here too the difficulty arises from a will made later by the father. No Greek source throws any light on the meaning of *πανπράσιον*. But it is likely to be an Egyptian institution. I am inclined therefore to explain the word from the Demotic contracts described by Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property* 37 ff. (the Greek subscriptions call them *συνάλλαγμα* or *συγγραφὴ τροφῖτις*). In these contracts, which are often drawn up some time after the actual marriage, the husband acknowledges to the wife that he has sold her his entire property, in return for the token payment (*ς'ηḫ*) which the wife had made him; sometimes he adds a clause of settlement: 'To you (on behalf of) the children, whom you have borne me and which you will (still) bear to me . . . (the whole property) belongs.' These two elements correspond to *πανπράσιον* and *κατοχή*.

Pestman 41 regards *πρόπρασις* as the Greek name for this procedure: see PMich. 347 (A.D. 21) and PMich. 121 R II ii etc. (A.D. 42). He has suggested to me by letter that *πανπράσιον* and *πρόπρασις* in fact describe the same practice from different points of view: it is a sale of the whole property (*παν-*) but also (since the seller retains the right to dispose of it by testament) a provisional sale (*προ-*).

22 f. 'The husband is quite free to appoint his heirs, within certain limits, provided that at least one of the children, for instance the eldest son, is appointed heir. . . . The stipulation pertaining to the law of succession is, therefore, inserted in our deeds to indicate who will be the heir of those who are heirs-at-law; when no heir is appointed, those who are heirs-at-law, all the children, inherit the property on that account' (Pestman 128). Cf. the negative form **2757** ii?

24 *παραπεσούσης*: the normal meaning would be 'having been mislaid', cf. the examples collected by Youtie, *ZPE* 1 (1967) 171; in three of them the document is explicitly said to be invalid for this reason. But I don't see that this can be relevant here. The sense ought to be 'lapse', 'become inapplicable'.

3016. Judicial Proceedings

Plate VIII

No inventory number 14·5 × 19·3 cm. 28 May 148

This document is an extract from the prefectoral day-book, copied in a heavy round hand of literary pretensions; the copy is not likely to be much later than the events recorded. The back is blank.

The extract concerns proceedings of 28 May 148: presumably in the prefect's court. All that survives belongs to a single clause in the genitive absolute: 'when decisions of the *xenokritai* (who are listed) had been read out (and the decisions are quoted verbatim in Latin), . . .'. The apodosis will have begun in line 22.

The *xenokritai* are the point of interest. The evidence available does not allow a certain conclusion about their functions; but it seems worth collecting the material and venturing a suggestion. I am grateful to the legal seminar which discussed the document in London (notably Prof. J. A. C. Thomas and Prof. Peter Stein) for putting the difficulties in a clearer light.

The *xenokritai* in this document number fifteen; they are Roman citizens; they return a decision in Latin. It is obviously likely, though not to be proved, that they functioned in Egypt. The case apparently concerned a freedwoman: 13] *mulier de qua agitur* . [, 15] . . *libertina* ạẹ . . [, 18] . . . *seru*[(clearly reading and articulation are doubtful in 15 and 18, but the three passages may be thought to buttress one another). The dispute may have been about her *status libertatis* or about her ownership.

The noun was known otherwise only from two inscriptions: BSA 26. 163 (Sparta, Trajan/Hadrian) Eudocimus *ξενοκρίτης εἰς Ἀλάβαντα*; IGR iii 681 = TAM ii 508 (Pinara, ? i B.C.) *τὴν τοῦ σε*]*μνοτάτου δικαιοδότου καὶ τὴν τῶν ξενοκριτῶν δ*[*ιαλά*]*χεσιν*. In both, as in Cicero's reference to *peregrini iudices* in Cilicia (*ad Att.* 6. 1. 15), interpretation has differed between 'judges for aliens' and 'alien judges' (i.e. judges brought in from outside, *μετάπεμπτα δικαστήρια*). See Magie, *RRAM* ii 1383. The second interpretation fits the Spartan who went to Alabanda in this capacity; in the two other sources the context gives no foothold.

A new piece of evidence accrued quite recently. In *Eretz Israel* 8 (1967) 46 ff. Prof. Polotsky publishes three pieces from the archive of Babatha.[1] This archive, recovered at En Gedi by the Dead Sea, dates from the years A.D. 125–32; its owner, Babatha daughter of Simon, lived at Maoza near Zoar, south of the Dead Sea, in the new province of Arabia; she was presumably a Jewess, and certainly not a Roman citizen. Babatha's son was a minor; the *boule* of Petra provided him with a guardian (PEng. 27). In the same context belong duplicate copies of a Greek formulary (PEng. 28–9), which virtually translates the Roman formula for the *iudicium tutelae* (Lenel, *Edictum* para. 124).

What is odd about the formula is, that where the Roman text would be sup-

[1] The documents are reprinted as SB X 10288; and discussed by M. Lemosse, *The Irish Jurist* 3 (1968) 363. For the archive in general, see Y. Yadin, *Bar Kokhba* 222.

posed to have *iudex esto*, the Greek has *ξενοκρίται ἔστωσαν*. Prof. Polotsky rendered the word by *peregrini iudices*. Prof. Seidl has approved the rendering (*SDHI* 33 (1967) 550 f.; *Studi in onore di G. Grosso* ii 345 ff.), in the sense 'judges for aliens'; he compares the Greek *κριταί* who are to deal with cases among Greeks in the fourth Cyrene Edict (Ehrenberg and Jones, *Documents* 311).

Neither this meaning, 'judge for aliens', nor the other, 'imported judge', seems likely to fit **3016**, in which the judges are Roman citizens and return a verdict in Latin. But if they are a Roman institution, and concerned with a case of this kind, it would be tempting to think of them as *recuperatores*. There is some evidence to support this equivalence.

So far as I can discover, no regular Greek translation of *recuperator* is known. Seidl thought he had found one in PFamTebt. 24. 2 *ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνακτήσεως* [*τῶν ἀλλοτ*]*ριου-μένων* [(*Labeo*, 1965, pp. 37 ff.); this certainly answers the basic sense of the Latin. On the other hand, *CGL* iii 336. 44 f. has *κριτήριον ξένον iudicium peregrinum* and *κριτήριον ξένον recuperatorium*. *ξενοκρίτης* would then render not the Latin word, but the origin of the Roman institution as described by Aelius Gallus (i B.C.): 'reciperatio est, . . . cum inter populum et reges nationesque et civitates peregrinas lex convenit, quomodo per reciperatores reddantur res reciperenturque, resque privatas inter se persequantur' (Festus p. 342 L).

Recuperatores certainly occupied themselves with cases of *status*. Thus Claudius' oration BGU 611. 3 f. fixes their minimum age at 24, since they have to judge [*causas*] *servitutis libertatisque*. See B. Schmidlin, *Rekuperatorenverfahren* 86 ff. (The evidence, as might be expected, is confined to Italy and to the first century A.D.) Nothing is said about their numbers. But we might compare the provision of the *Lex Aelia Sentia* (Gaius i 20) for the manumission of slaves under thirty: they do not become citizens unless manumitted *vindicta* after proof of adequate motive before a *consilium* which, in the provinces, is to consist of twenty citizen *recuperatores* and to be convened on the last day of the *conventus*.[1]

The discussion is necessarily inconclusive, because the details of the actual case are not available. It is at least clear that these *ξενοκρίται* must be different from those of the Greek inscriptions. If they are *recuperatores*, we have interesting evidence for the survival of older Roman judicial forms in Egypt; and reason perhaps to reconsider the En Gedi formulary, which otherwise preserves strict Roman form, even though its users were not citizens.

The lower part of the papyrus, with the Latin text, is badly rubbed and stained. The readings offered for the Latin are for the most part very doubtful.

[1] We have no mention of this *consilium* in Egypt, unless our text provides one. Contrast *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* §§ 19 and 21.

→ (m.²) ὑπομνημ(ατισμῶν) ἡγεμόνος
ἔτους ια Ἀντωνείνου καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
Παῦνι γ
ἀναγνωσθεισῶν ἀποφάσεων ξενοκρι-
5 τῶν Φλ(αουίου) Π̣ίου, Ἰουλίου Μινερουᾶλις,
Μετειλίου Διδύμου, Βαβιδίου Ῥούφου,
Κλ(αυδίου) Γεμίνου, Κασσίου Λιβερᾶλις, Ἐκουι-
τίου Κλ[α]υδιανοῦ, Ἰουλ̣ίου Πρόκλου,
Ἰουλίου ̣ωρατου, Κα̣[.. Ἀ]πολλιναρί̣ου,
10 Ἀλφείου Λόνγου, Φλ(αουίου) Δ̣[ιο]υσίου, Ο̣...ε̣
..... Ἀ]π̣ολλιναῖρις, Ἰουλ[ίο]υ Μαξίμου,
̣]λιου Ἀμμωνίου τῶν ὑποτε̣[
.....] mụḷiẹr de qua agitur .[
].[..]ụsạ.oetisaduẹ[
15]..liberṭịṇạạẹ..[
].ḷụn.ṇ.[
]nonuidet[
]...serụ[
].ụṣẹx̣ạço.[
20]ẹ.....ṣṣẹ[
]ṣạ....f.ụịḍ[
]. Ἀπολλ̣ι̣[

1 υπομνημ^μ 5 φλ· 7 κλ· 10 φλ·

'(*2nd hd.*) From the *commentarii* of the prefect. (*1st hd.*)
Year 11 of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Pauni 3.
After the reading out of the decisions of the *xenokritai* Fl. Pius, Julius Minervalis, Metilius Didymus, Babidius Rufus, Cl. Geminus, Cassius Liberalis, Equitius Claudianus, Julius Proclus, Julius .oratus, ... Apollinaris, Alfius Longus, Fl. Dionysius, ... Apollinaris, Julius Maximus, ... Ammonius, as follows ... "... the woman who is the object of the case ..." ...'

6 *Μετειλίου*: for the Metilii, see Syme, *JRS*, 1968, p. 138.
Βαβιδίου: Schulze, *Z. Gesch. Lat. Eigennamen* 132 n. 4.
7 f. *Ἐκουιτίου*: Schulze, ib. 355; *nomen* of the emperor Probus, according to Aur. Victor *Ep.* 36. 2; Fl. Equitius was *cos. ord.* in 374.
9 .*ωρατου*: the trace (assuming the first part of the ink to be the tip of the preceding *υ*) looks most like the junction of two obliques i.e. δ λ μ (less likely *ν*); but lacks the characteristic left-pointing apex. I find none of these attested as names.
Κα[..: presumably an abbreviation of Cassius.
10 *Ἀλφείου*: cf. M. Alfius Coma, ex-signifer, BGU 610 (CPL 115) of A.D. 140.
10 f. *Ο̣...ε̣*[.....: not *Οὐαλε̣*[*ρίου*. *ουε̣λε* might just be read, with the first *ε* much cramped, whether

as a mis-spelling, or as part of Velenius or Velesius; or better *Ο̣ὐμε̣*[*ρίου*, Umerius (see Schulze for these names).
11 *Ἰουλ*[*ίο*]*υ Μαξίμου*: it is obviously likely that some at least of the judges are veterans; this man might be identified with the soldier who appears in BGU 610 (CPL 115) of A.D. 140. But the name is not distinctive.
12 .]*λιου*: *Αἰ*]*λ̣ίου* looks too long.]*αιου* is not a possible reading.
υποτε[: the papyrus is broken after the *ε*. This was probably the line-end; but one cannot be sure that *υποτε*[*τα*| was not written.
13 Assuming that the scribe wrote *υποτε*|[*ταγμένων*, there will be room for some two letters before *mulier* (*si*, *an*), or for a short blank; if *ὑποτε*[*τα*|*γμένων*, some four letters (e.g. *quod*) or their equivalent.
mụḷiẹr: *u* is quite substantial; of *l* only a point of ink from the horizontal; of *i* only a point from the top.
de qua agitur: for the phrase in verdicts, cf. *FIRA* iii 86. 9–10 'necessariam fuisse inspectionem aedificiorum et loci, de quibus aput me actum est' (decision of Senecio, sub-prefect of the fleet at Misenum); 164. 11 'eorum locorum, de quibus agitur, factam determinationem ...' (decision of *arbiter ex compromisso*, i/ii A.D.).
14 Before *oe* apparently *m* or *n*. More than one articulation is possible: *et is adue*[; alternatively the woman's name might be (e.g. *Zoilo*)*us Amoetis* (daughter of Amois). If the former, perhaps]. *Sạmo*.
17 *non uidet*[*ur*?
21]*ṣa*: there seems to be an oblique stroke above and to the right of *a*.

3017. Edict of Prefect

Plate IX

2 1B.94/J (b) 9·5×21·5 cm. *c.* A.D. 176/7

This edict was copied on the back of the petition **2672B**. The copy is a careless and illiterate one; the scribe often corrected himself, overwriting or blotting out his mistakes; two insertions (4 and 12) are in blacker ink, perhaps by a different writer. The hand has literary pretensions: in the manner of Roberts, *GLH* 23b (A.D. 260/270), but less elaborate.

The edict itself dates from the prefecture of Ti. Pactumeius Magnus, A.D. 176–7. This copy must be at least forty years later, for the petition on the front was submitted in A.D. 218; it is written in brown ink, which would normally suggest a date in the late third century or after (Turner, *Greek Manuscripts* 22 and n.).

The prefect refers to petitions which have been answered with a subscription or a letter of the form *ἔντυχέ μοι πρὸ βήματος*. He rules (lines 1–13) that such petitioners must present themselves within ten days of receiving the reply; otherwise it becomes void. The same time-limit applies to the 'registering' (*ἐνγράφειν*) of such subscriptions (13 ff.).

The general background to this measure is clear. The petitioners are, as usual, present in Alexandria (or some other assize town); they receive their reply on the spot; they have no physical difficulty in presenting themselves within ten days of receiving it. This personal attendance in town could be very prolonged and inconvenient (e.g. **486**); and it might be thought that Magnus designed his measure to speed justice and relieve the petitioner. If so, the purpose is well concealed; the whole thing reads as a reproof, not as a concession.

The details of the corrupt and damaged text are often very doubtful. In particular, we need to know the implications of *ἔντυχέ μοι πρὸ βήματος* (5 note) and of the procedure called *ἐνγράφειν* (13 ff. note).

↓ *Τίτος Πακτουμή[[..]]ιος Μάγνος ἔπαρ-*
χος Αἰγύπτου λαίγει[[ν]]· εἴ τινες ὑπο-
γραφὰς ἔτυχον δότες βιβλείδια
εἰ ἐπιστολὰς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον
5 *"ἔντυχέ μοι πρὸ βήματος" ἢ μετὰ*
τὸ διάταγμα τοῦτο τύχοιεν, ἵςτω-
ςαν ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἐντὸς δέκα ἡμε-
ρῶν τοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν ὑπογραφὴν
ἢ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐντυχ..ται
10 *οὔθ' ὁτιοῦν καρπώςεσθαι πρὸς τὸ*
.πέχειν ἢ νομίμην ἀκολουθίαν
ἢ δε'δικαςμένον ςυντελειαν ἢ εἰς-
πράττειν οφειλήματοιν[.]. . . . μέν-
τοι καὶ ὑπογραφὰς τοιαύτας ἐνγρά-
15 *ψωςι διαγνώςομαι .[]. μὲν ἐντὸς*
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὡριςμένου τῶν ῑ ἡμε-
ρῶν ἐνγράψωςι ἵςτωςαν τὰς ὑ-
πογραφὰς αὐτοῖς 'ε'ὶς οὐδὲν χρη-
ςίμους ἐςομένας [κ]α[ὶ] τοῦ λοιποῦ
20 *οὕτως πρα..[..]ν[.]. . . . . κα μηδὲ*
...αρ.η..[. . . . .]. καὶ ἔλαβον
.[.]..[.]. . . . . [.]. . .ιο..ητ..
]. . . . . .
]. . . . . .
25 *]. . . . . .*
]. . . . . .
].[. . . .]. . . . . .
..[ ]. . .[. . . .]. . . . . .
τ[ ]. . .τ.[. . . .]. . . . . .
30 *]..αχ[. . . .]. . . . . .*
]. . .θεο[. . . .]. . . .ν
].ω. . . . .φ. . .[]

1 *πακτουμη[[.]]ϊος* 2 l. *λέγει* 3 l. *δόντες* *βιβλ*: *ι* written over *υ* 4 *ει*: l. *ἢ* *τον*: *ν* written over a *τ* 9 *-ςτολην*: *η* written over a *ν* 10 *-εςθαι*: *ε* suprascript over deleted *α* 17 *ϊςτω-* 19 *εςομ-*: *ε* corr. from some straight-backed letter

'Titus Pactumeius Magnus, prefect of Egypt, says:

If any persons, on handing in petitions, have received subscriptions or letters of this form, namely "Submit the case to me before the tribunal", or if any persons should receive (such subscriptions) after this edict, they must know that if they do not submit the case to me within ten days of receiving the subscription or the letter, they will reap no benefit as regards (securing? delaying?) either due legal procedures or execution of judgement or as regards recovering debts . . . Further, if they register even such subscriptions, I will settle them within the above fixed period of ten days; ⟨but if they do not⟩ register them ⟨within the ten days⟩, they must know that the subscriptions will be of no benefit to them, and for the future likewise . . .'

1 The known limits of this prefecture are April/August 176, and 28 March 177 (*BASP* iv 100).

3–4 To judge from 8 f., *ἐπιστολάς* is linked with *ὑπογραφάς*; *δό⟨ν⟩τες βιβλείδια* intervenes awkwardly (misplaced by the scribe?). *τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον* presumably applies to both nouns.

5 *ἔντυχέ μοι πρὸ βήματος*: I have found this phrase only once elsewhere: PFouad 24. 1–4 *Ἀντώνιος Διονύσιος ὁ ἱερεὺς [καὶ ἀρχιδικαστὴς εἶ]πεν· καὶ πρὸ βήματός μοι ἔντυ[χε* (report of proceedings, *c.* A.D. 144; the hearing recorded in lines 5 ff. no doubt results from this instruction)—here spoken, not written. Similarly the petitioner in PMich. IX 534 reports (10) *ἐνέτυχον πρὸ βήματος*.

πρὸ βήματος by itself is commoner. Reports of Proceedings may begin with a location-formula of the type *ἐν Ἀρσινοΐτῃ πρὸ βήματος* (PAmh. 80. 7, PStrass. 5. 7, 41. 1, 179. 4, PThead. 15. 2); others have *ἐπὶ βήματος* in the same context (PTebt. 569, PFouad 21. 4 etc.); more specifically *ἀναγνωςθέντος τοῦ βιβλειδίου πρὸ βήματος* (**237** v 13). Similarly in PSI 1357. 5 the strategus receives instructions from the prefect *πρὸ βήματος αὐτοῦ*.

One of two contrasts might be implied. (1) The petitioner appears in person (does not simply apply in writing): see PFouad 24. 2 note. (2) *Pro tribunali* might be opposed to *de plano*, cf. Modestinus in *Dig.* 27. 1. 13. 6–11: persons who seek to be excused service as *tutor* or *curator* must apply within a fixed period, *ἀπόχρη δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς προθεςμίας ἐντυχεῖν μόνον . . . χρὴ δὲ διαμαρτύραςθαι* (Kruger: *μιᾷ μαρτ.* MSS.) *πρὸ βήματος ἢ ἄλλως ἐπὶ ὑπομνημάτων. δύναται δὲ καὶ βιβλίδια ἐπιδοῦναι χαμάθεν, ὡς οἱ αὐτοί φαςιν αὐτοκράτορες* (Severus and Caracalla): the point here is, at a formal session of the court. The same notion, I think, lies behind two other formulae: *ἔντυχέ μοι δικάζοντι* which appears as subscription to petitions at PAchm. 8. 33, **1558** 9, PStrass. 196. 12; and **2343** 7 f. *κατὰ τὴν ὑπογραφὴν . . . παραγγείλα[ς] ἐντυχεῖν ςοι ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημά[των*, which illustrates Modestinus and in which the crucial issue is again that the application should appear in the formal record (see PBeattyPanop. 1. 100–1 note).

Two further questions: why is the time-limit imposed? there is nothing strictly comparable in the material assembled by Taubenschlag, *OM* ii 179–81. And what kinds of cases are involved? No surviving petition, so far as I see, has precisely this form of subscription. Lines 11–13 should give some indication of scope. But what is common to the three situations specified?

9 *ἐντυχ..ται*: the meaning required is clear, but I cannot find a satisfactory reading. *ἐντύχονται* (l. *-ων-*) is an unwanted middle. *ἐντύχη{ι}ται* (l. *-τε*) is an unwelcome second person. We expect *ἐντύχωςιν*.

10 ff. With the readings *οὔθ' ὁτιοῦν* (Rea) and *ἀπέχειν* (Youtie), this difficult passage will make some general sense. The petitioners have various objects: (1) legal proceedings in due form; (2) execution of a judgement previously given; (3) exaction of debts owing to them. This is presumably all normal business. (1) might refer to the initiation of an action by *ὑπόμνημα* or *παραγγελία*; for (2) cf. PRossGeorg. II. 20, where the petitioner asks to have *τὰ κριθέντα* enforced; for (3) see M. *Chr.* 62. But for all three purposes application must be made within the ten-day limit.

There is a palaeographic difficulty at the beginning of line 11. The first letter or letters has been corrected. At some stage the scribe may have written *ὑπ-*, for the trema is visible; but the sense excludes it. The easiest reading is *αιπ-*, corrected to *επ-*. *ἐπέχειν* makes sense of a kind (the petitioner seeks to suspend legal action begun against him, or penalties already decided), but limits the prefect's reform to a narrow range of cases. *ἀπέχειν* fits the context best; and the reading [.ι]*απ-* is at least possible.

11 ἀκολουθίαν: due legal process (Steinwenter, *JJP* 4 (1950) 219 ff.). Thus SB 9622. 12 ἐβουλόμην τότ[ε τῇ] τῶν ν[ό]μων ἀκολουθίᾳ χρήϲαϲθαι.

12 δεδικαϲμένον ϲυντελειαν: the scribe wrote either ϲυντέλειαν or ϲυντελείᾳ[[ν]]; before that he presumably intended δεδικαϲμένην or δεδικαϲμένων. ϲυντέλεια in the documents normally refers to tax-payments: is δεδικαϲμένη ϲυντέλεια a payment which the court has decided one must make? But the parallel with νομίμη ἀκολουθία rather suggests δεδικαϲμένων ϲυντέλειαν as 'the carrying out of the court's decision'.

12 f. If εἰϲπράττειν is parallel to ἀπέχειν, the sentence can end intelligibly with ἢ εἰϲπράττειν ὀφείλημα; the only doubt of reading is that οφει- might be simply οφε-. But this leaves grave difficulties with what follows.

13 ff. The fixed point is μέντοι, which seems certain. Before it I can find no plausible reading. οφε̣ιλημα is clear; then apparently τ (the left half of the cross-bar missing in a gap), ο, ι (an isolated upright); then ν; then a hole which might have contained one letter; then a single upright (ι? ρ? υ?); then a long and a short vertical below a horizontal (as of τρ); then what looks like a blotted τι.

For the general sense, there are two initial difficulties:

1. The grammar clearly fails at some point in lines 15–19. I suggest as the simplest solution that the scribe omitted some words by parablepsy:

(*a*) assume that the traces between διαγνώϲομαι and μὲν are fortuitous; then διαγνώϲομαι μὲν ἐντὸϲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὡριϲμένου τῶν ῑ ἡμερῶν ⟨χρόνου· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐντὸϲ τῶν ῑ ἡμερῶν⟩ ἐνγράψωϲι κτλ.;

(*b*) read the traces after διαγνώϲομαι as ᾗ[ά]ν, and write: διαγνώϲομαι ᾗ[ὰ]ν μὲν ἐντὸϲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὡριϲμένου τῶν ῑ ἡμερῶν ⟨χρόνου ἐνγράψωϲι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐνγράψωϲι ἐντὸϲ τῶν ῑ ἡμερῶν⟩, ἴϲτωϲαν κτλ.

The second accounts better for the slight but visible traces, and for the position of μέν.

2. The meaning of ἐνγράφειν is crucial; but I have found no parallel context. In general, we might expect 'enter' (in a list or record) or 'register'. But how does this apply to ὑπογραφαί? Is it a matter of writing, as opposed to appearing in person (ἐντυγχάνειν)? or of approaching the prefect privately, as opposed to πρὸ βήματοϲ? or (as Prof. Youtie suggests) of putting one's case down on the calendar of the prefect's court?

I had taken μέντοι (13) to introduce a contrast, and καὶ (14) to emphasize a concession. Petitioners who receive a subscription of the specified form must apply (i.e. appear in person) within ten days. However, even such petitioners may apply in writing rather than in person; but the same time-limit obtains.

Prof. Youtie suggests that μέντοι introduces an addition, not a contrast. The petitioner will have to register his subscription, in order to get a place in the prefect's judicial schedule. Magnus wishes to make it clear how his time-limit applies to this preliminary.

20 After πρα a flat-topped letter; υ might be τ. The sense may be οὕτω πράττειν ἔγνωκα, but I cannot find a reading.

31–2 The edict is likely to have ended with a date. Pactumeius Magnus held office in the joint reign of M. Aurelius and Commodus; his successor had arrived before the end of that reign (*Ann. Ép.*, 1961, no. 280, see **2760** 1 note). In 31 θεο[ῦ (perhaps ϲα̣ὶ θεο[ῦ) is a possible reading; but I cannot fit what follows either to Marcus or to Commodus.

3018. Privileges of Paeanistae

No inventory number — 12 × 15·5 cm. — Third century

The top of a column, written in a good hand of chancery type; incomplete to the left and at the foot, but nearly complete at the right (as is shown by the space after Καῖϲαρ in 2, and by the spreading final υ in 3). The back is blank.

The papyrus contains two items: (*a*) 1–10 a rescript of Severus and Caracalla; (*b*) 11 ff. a letter of Hadrian. Both concern themselves with the privileges of Paeanistae.

Such collections of evidential material are common: thus PPhil. 1, on the privileges of weavers. Notice especially M. *Chr.* 374 (Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 54): a rescript of Severus and Caracalla about *longi temporis praescriptio*, followed by two earlier decisions on the same subject.

(*a*) bears the Latin date 7 December, and confirms an earlier rescript of Pharmouthi (April) 200. This previous decision belongs to the series which Severus issued during his Egyptian visit (PColApokr. p. 27); like the Columbia apokrimata, it was posted in the stoa of the gymnasium in Alexandria. The rescript of 7 December presumably appeared somewhere outside Egypt. The Emperors confirm some concessions made to Paeanistae; the details are missing.

(*b*) is a letter, in which Hadrian had ordered that Paeanistae should enjoy ἀτέλεια and other privileges. The prescript 12–14 is, so far as I can discover, unique; it seems unlikely to have been addressed to an Egyptian audience.

Paeanistae occur occasionally in inscriptions (see E. W. Handley, *Menander's Dyskolos* pp. 172–4). In Egypt they appear at Panopolis (SB 1743), and at Karnak (paeanistae of Serapis and Augustus); at Rome in A.D. 146 (IG xiv 1084: paeanistae of Serapis and the Emperors) and again under Severus (IG xiv 1059); at Piraeus in the earlier third century (SIG³ 1110: paeanistae of Asclepius of Munychia). **3018** gives the first evidence for their privileged status. The claim no doubt had the same basis as that of the Dionysiac Artists, who cite favourable decisions of Claudius, Hadrian, Severus, and Alexander Severus (**2476**, **2610**); both groups had ties with the imperial cult. The privileges themselves included some form of tax-exemption and some form of immunity from state-service (4 and 15, notes).

Hadrian on his accession confirmed the privileges of philosophers, rhetors, *grammatici*, and doctors (*Dig.* 27. 1. 6. 8). Many other rescripts of Severus concern themselves with exemption from liturgy. This may reflect a general second-century trend—the erosion of privileged status (N. Lewis, *Actes Varsovie* 70).

→ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖϲαρ Λούκιοϲ Ϲεπτίμιοϲ Ϲ]εουῆροϲ Εὐϲεβὴϲ Περτίναξ
Ϲεβαϲτὸϲ Ἀραβικὸϲ Ἀδιαβηνικὸϲ Παρθικὸϲ Μέγιϲ]τοϲ καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖϲαρ
Μάρκοϲ Αὐρήλιοϲ Ἀντωνῖνοϲ Εὐϲεβὴϲ] Ϲεβαϲτὸϲ Ϲαραπίωνι Διδύμου
]ου᾽ρ᾽γιαϲ ἔχουϲι φυλάττειν ανμ[
5].εν τῇ ϲτοᾷ τοῦ γυμναϲίου ηϛ Φαρμ(οῦθι) ι.[
].το.[...].αιων Ἀρϲινοειτῶν παιανιϲταῖϲ δι[
]εχρ.[...].θρηϲκεύ̣ϵϲθαι καὶ κατὰ ταυτα χρη[
]εθει[...] καὶ μηδὲν καινουργεῖϲθαι. τὰ γὰρ [
] ϲυ̣[κε]χωρημένα ἀκωλύτωϲ μεμ[
10 π]ροετέθη πρὸ ἑπτὰ εἰδῶν Δεκεμβρίω[ν

] ἄλλο θεοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ [
Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖcαρ Τραιανὸc Ἁδριανὸc C]εβαcτὸc τοῖc κατ[ὰ τ]ὴν ἐπαρχεί[αν
cτ]ρατηγοῖc Ἕλληcί τε καὶ βαρβάροιc [
]..κουcι χαίρειν. ἐπέταξα παιανιcτ.[
15]ςπρακτους παντὸc τελέcματοc κ[
]ουc ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων [...].[....].ε[
. . . . .

4 φυλατ'τειν 5]. descending diagonal as of α, κ φαρ⁻ 7 .[upright]. top of upright 16 ἰδιων

4]ουργιαc: υπ]? λειτ]? At the end μ[seems certain, though only its left half remains; not e.g. ἀνα[φαιρετ-. Some privilege is to be maintained, as e.g. W. *Chr.* 156. 35, perhaps in accord with a previous rescript (5 κατὰ τὰ προτεθέντ]α ἐν τῇ cτοᾷ).

5 Φαρμ(οῦθι): two other rescripts (M. *Chr.* 375. 12, **1405** 12 f.) belong to Pharmouthi, the last attested month of Severus' stay in Egypt. At the end, the trace allows any numeral except perhaps α and δ.

6 τ.[: an upright.].αιων: an oblique tail as of α κ λ μ (or possibly χ): I find no verbal parallel to support 'Ρω]μαίων or ἀρ]χαίων. τ]ὰ τοῖ[c] - - - παιανιcταῖc δι[δόμενα would make a suitable clause.

7 e.g. μ]έχρι [νῦ]ν θρηcκεύεcθαι; then κατὰ ταῦτα or ταὐτά. The letter of Severus **2610** 4 describes the Artists of Dionysus as ταῖc πρὸc τὸν] Διόνυcον θρηcκ[είαιc] ἀνακειμέ[νου]c.

8 E.g. τ]έθει[κεν,] ἔθει[μον.

8–9 E.g. τὰ γὰρ [ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκρατόρων] cυη[κε]χωρημένα (e.g. **2476** 9 f.); this gives a line-length about equal to that in 1 and 3. At the end, some part of μεμένηκε?

10 f. The Roman date. There is room for the consular year at the beginning of 11 (in short form, as e.g. PGiss. 40 ii 12); indeed, if the whole line had been blank, we might expect the heading of the next item to be centred.

12–14 I find no parallel for this prescript. ἐπαρχεί[αν might be Egypt, and cτ]ρατηγοῖc the nome-strategi; Ἕλληcί τε καὶ βαρβάροιc can hardly apply to strategi, but even as a separate group it is extraordinary (one expects 'Greeks and Egyptians'). And why should Hadrian address lesser officials, and omit the prefect? There is no guarantee that the letter referred originally to Egypt; Asia Minor too had strategi (Magie, *RRAM* ii 1508 f.).

14]..κουcι: cf. M. *Chr.* 374. 19 περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖc ἔθνεcιν οἰκούντων, *SEG* ix 8. 79 ff. (Cyrene Edict V) πᾶcιν τοῖc τὰc ἐπαρχήαc κατοικοῦcιν.]ο[ι]κοῦcι could be read.

15 Perhaps ἀνει]ςπράκτους (ἀ. περὶ . . . τελεcμάτων **1123** 14 etc.); with e.g. 16 ἀπαρενοχλήτ]ουc. Then read παιανιcτά[c in 14.

3019. Decision of Severus

31 4B. 12/B (1–2) a 5·1 × 16 cm. 9 March 200

This text is written across the fibres on the back of a column of accounts. The clumsy hand is not likely to be much later than the earlier third century.

What we have is an extract (line 13) from proceedings before the emperor Septimius Severus and his *consilium*, in Alexandria, on 9 March 200. The emperor received an embassy from the Egyptians (that is, from the Greeks of the metropoleis), who had

communal petitions to make. One of these petitions, about swineherds, is cited; the imperial decision perhaps follows at the foot of the column (21 n.); the details of both are obscure.

The text has two points of particular interest: the procedure illustrated; and the source and nature of the copy.

Embassies often travelled to present the requests of their communities (**3020** i 4). This one is remarkable, in that it apparently represented some or all of the inhabitants of the *chora*. Its reception adds a new facet to Severus' Egyptian visit; so far the evidence for his administrative activity has consisted entirely of rescripts issued to individuals.

The copy is in Greek; but the date takes the Roman form. This points to a Latin original. The most likely such source for this record of proceedings is clearly the imperial *commentarii*. Of these no guaranteed fragment survives. But it is a good guess that the Dmeir inscription is an authentic extract from them. The inscription (*Syria* 23 (1942) 178 f., *SEG* xvii 759) records a hearing before Caracalla in 216. The preamble begins: 'Sabino et Anulino cos., [VI] Kal. Iunias, Antio[chiae, Imp. Caesar] M. Aurel. Antoninus Pius Fel. Aug. Par. Max. Brit. Max. Ge[rm. Max.] cum sal(utatus) a prae-f(ectis) praet(orio) e(minentissimis) v(iris) item amicis et princ(ipibus) offic(i)or(um) sed(isset) in aud(itorio), admitti iussit Aur. Carzeum Sergi defen(sorem) Go[ha-r(ienorum)'. In what follows, the speeches are all in Greek, but the framework is Latin: 'Aristaenetus d(ixit), Antoninus Aug. d(ixit).'

The Dmeir inscription and **3019** have an obvious similarity of outline: consular date; the emperor takes his seat in a particular building; he orders a petitioner to be admitted. **3019** differs in some respects: (*a*) the 'Latin' parts are rendered into Greek; (*b*) the emperor is called καῖcαρ, not by the long or short form of his Roman titulature; (*c*) matter is omitted in line 13; (*d*) the petition is summarized, not presented in direct speech. Our text, then, if it does derive from the *commentarii*, has been adapted and abridged. Since the copy is an amateur one, made presumably for someone with a single interest in the pigmen, this is not surprising.

There are more consequences for the history of the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. It seems to me quite certain that the earliest pieces (those concerned with events of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, and copied not long after those events) derive quite closely from authentic records of proceedings: see the embassies to Augustus in **2435** verso and **3020**. Later examples are more suspect, because their framework is more elaborate and their speeches more polished; they have even been thought to be entirely fictional. **3019** can hardly be part of the *Acta*. But it may be taken to show that, in Alexandria at least, records of imperial proceedings were accessible; and to illustrate the sort of adaptation which even a non-partisan excerptor might produce.

↓ .ογω
Cεουήρω καὶ Οὐικτωρεί-
νῳ ὑπάτοις πρὸ ζ̄ εἰδῶν
Μαρτίων ἐν Ἀλεξαν-
5 δρέᾳ. καῖcαρ κατίcας
ἐν τῷ δικαcτηρίῳ με-
τὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶ᾽ν᾽
εἰc τὸ cυμβούλειον κε-
κλημένων ἐκέλευ-
10 cεν εἰcκληθῆναι πρέ᾽c᾽-
βειc Αἰγυπτίων τὰc
κοινὰc ἀξιώcειc προ-
φέροντac. με᾽τ᾽᾽ ἄλλα· ἀ-
ξιώcαντος Διονυcί-
15 ου περὶ τῶν cυοφορ-
βῶν διὰ τὸ τοὺc γε-
ωργοὺc ἤδη γενέc-
θαι πρὸc τ[ὴν cυγκο-
μιδὴν τ[
20 ηδητικ.[
.α.[.]ει.[
ᾳcε..[

2 ουϊκ- 3 ὑπατοις 5 l. καθίcαc 16–17 l. γεωργοὺc

'. . . Consulship of Severus and Victorinus, 7th day before the Ides of March, at Alexandria. Caesar took his seat in the court-house with his friends and those who had been summoned to the council, and ordered that the envoys of the Egyptians, who were putting forward their common requests, should be called in. After other matter: Dionysius having made a request about the swineherds, because the farmers (?) were already engaged in bringing in the harvest . . . Caesar said (?): "...".'

1 .ογω: ο is a right-hand arc; there is a spot of ink within, but apparently not enough for θ or φ. γω might perhaps be πμ; but there is no trace of any following letter. Before ο a descender; this was the first letter, if the line began in normal alignment; but a trace to the left, on the edge of the papyrus, may not be accidental. I can make nothing of this. It is not a file number; nor apparently part of the consular date.

2–4 The date is 9 March 200: towards the end of Severus' stay in Alexandria as the dated rescripts reveal it (PColApokr. pp. 27 and 30).

6 ἐν τῷ δικαcτηρίῳ: nothing is known of this building, except that it was in the centre of the city (Strabo 17. 1. 10).

6–9 The *consilium* consists of two groups. The *amici* were part of the court, and travelled with the emperor; on Severus' friends see Crook, *Consilium Principis* 84–5. The rest were specially summoned: probably (as Dr. Millar suggests) local notables, whether Romans (praetorian tribunes etc.) or Alexandrians. A similar distinction is made in the *Acta Athenodori* (Musurillo X 61–3), where the emperor summons senators and *amici*.

11 Αἰγυπτίων: includes the Greek-speaking inhabitants of the *chora*: see **2664** 3 note; PColApokr. line 6, where Alexandrians and Egyptians seem to make up the whole population of the country.

12 κοινάc: as opposed to those of individuals, who had been presenting their petitions in court nome by nome (**705** 36 ff.).

15 ff. Pigs were an important foodstuff, especially for the provisioning of Alexandria (W. *Chr.* 428; PGiss. 40 ii 18), especially too with the court in residence. But what connection have they with the harvest? (*a*) Pigs had at one time been used for the threshing, Hdt. 2. 14. 2 and PEdgar 49; Schnebel found no evidence for this practice in the Roman period (*Landwirtschaft* 174). (*b*) Pigs might be a hazard to the harvest: in the petition BGU 757 (A.D. 12) Heracles complains that two swineherds have turned their herd on to his field and fed them with the new sheaves.

A situation is easily constructed: fodder will be at its scarcest at the beginning of the harvest; the pigmen, under pressure to provide, will be at their least scrupulous. But most of this would have to come in lines 19–20; and it gives no obvious background for a repeated ἤδη (17, 20).

18–19 cυγκο]μιδήν: c. τῶν καρπῶν PPreis. 4. 10, elsewhere absolute.

20 ηδητικ.[: ἤδη again? The final trace is an upright; perhaps the trace of a junction at mid height (η, ρ).

21 .α.[.]ει.[: the letter after ει is π or τ. Probably ϩαᾳ[c(αρ)] εἰτ[εν or καῖ]ϩαρ εἰπ[εν: the imperial decision must come somewhere in these last three lines, unless the text extended to a second column.

22 ᾳcε.[: most like ᾳcεϩμ[.

3020. Letter of Augustus and Proceedings of Embassy

Plate X

34 4B.73/E (1) a — Fr. 1: *c.* 22×9·8 cm. — Earlier first century

This piece contains, in fr. 1, the upper part of two columns, each more or less at full width; fr. 2 comes from the head of a further column. The back of both fragments is blank. The hand is an ugly, irregular half-cursive of early Roman type (probably the same throughout, though its appearance alters after ii 7, when the scribe changed to a much sharper pen). Characteristic letters are: α with both pointed and rounded bow; ε with detached cross-bar; divided κ; deep μ; ω in three movements, middle stroke slanting to the left. Compare **2435** and the dated parallels listed in the introduction. Writing like this is not likely to be later than the mid first century.

The scribe has vulgar spellings at fr. 1 i 6 λελοιπηκέναι, ii 7 πόλεοc, ii 8 ἀπολλωγηcαμ-. There is no punctuation.

Fr. 1 col. i gives the beginning of a letter from Augustus to Alexandria; the letter, dated 10/9 B.C., reports an audience given to an Alexandrian embassy. Col. ii is a protocol: proceedings of an Alexandrian embassy before an emperor. No doubt it is the same embassy in both. The reply to its representations, and the representations themselves, were copied side by side, or perhaps consecutively (ii 1 note).

The letter is of standard type: Augustus replies to a Sardian or a Cnidian embassy in much the same terms (Ehrenberg and Jones, *Documents* nos. 99 ii and 312); similarly Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians, PJews 1912. Only the preliminary clichés survive. The envoys had sought out the emperor in Gaul, and presented their instructions; in

particular, they rehearsed the city's grievances of past years. The emperor replies (perhaps) that he had already considered the problem.

When col. ii begins, the exegete has taken the floor. He starts his speech by introducing the envoys; they have divided the business of the embassy among themselves, Theodorus to speak about Egypt, Harpocrates about the Idios Logos, the exegete himself about the city; they have not come to defend themselves, but to require . . .

This all belongs in the context of the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. Two pieces are especially relevant: **2435** and PSI 1160. Both, to judge from the hand, were copied about the same time as **3020**.

2435 verso records another audience given by Augustus (in A.D. 12/13) to Alexandrian envoys.[1] Here too the hand is crude, and the spelling shaky.

With the *Boule* papyrus, PSI 1160 (Musurillo, *Acta* I; *CPJ* ii 150), there is a link of matter. The speaker there lists the advantages of a *boule*: among them, protection *εἴ τις καταβαροῖτο παρὰ λόγον πραττόμενος ἢ ὑπὸ ἰδί[ο]υ λόγου ἤ τινος πράκτορος ἀνθρώπους διασείοντος*. The Idios Logos is again complained of in **3020** fr. 1 ii 6. This is historically intelligible. We know that Augustus introduced a comprehensive rule-book, the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos*; and the edict of Ti. Julius Alexander (SB 8444. 41 ff.) gives a picture of the activities of informers attached to the department. It is likely enough that a stricter interpretation and more energetic pursuit of *τὰ εἰς καίσαρα πίπτειν ὀφείλοντα* (Strabo 17. 1. 12), after the general chaos of the late Ptolemies, would greatly embarrass many prominent Alexandrians. **3020** refers to these early embarrassments; so probably does PSI 1160 (for the date, see *CPJ* ii p. 27). The edict shows that the situation persisted.

3020, **2435**, and PSI 1160 form a group. Two of them, and probably all three, contain Augustan material. All three were copied at a date very little later than the events described. **2435** and PSI 1160 are headed with a file reference, which implies an official source;[2] **3020** juxtaposes its proceedings with what has all the appearance of an authentic imperial letter. There is everything to be said for taking this earliest group of *Acta* as strictly documentary.

Later *Acta* no doubt expanded and were coloured with time; the existence of recensions shows this. But the documentary basis remains. **3020** confirms that extravagant titles and bald assertiveness are not always fictional (fr. 1 ii 1 and 8); **3019** shows how material could be obtained, and how it was adapted.

[1] The recto records Germanicus' reception in Alexandria. We now have a name for such documents: *ἄκτα τῶν τιμῶν* (**2725** 21).

[2] Turner indeed argues that PSI 1160 is translated from a Latin original (*JRS* 45 (1955) 119).

Fr. 1

Col. i

→ αὐ]τοκράτωρ καίσαρος σεβαστὸς ἀρχιε̣[ρ]ε̣ὺς
δη]μαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ἰδ′ αὐτοκράτωρ
τὸ ι]β′ Ἀλεξανδρείων δήμωι χαίρειν· οὓς
ἐπ]έμψατε πρέσβεις ἐλθόντες εἰς Γαλατείαν
5 πρ]ός με τάς [τ]ε ἄλλας ἐντολὰς ὑμῶν ἀπέ-
δο]σαν κα[ὶ τ]ὰ δοκοῦντα ὑμᾶς λελοιπηκέ-
να]ι̣ ἐν τοῖ[ς ἔ]μπροσθε[ν] ετε̣.ινηδηλωσαν
..].[.....]ωι π̣ρό[τε]ρ̣ον εἰ τοὺς ἡμετε-
ρ- c. 20]ειν τησδεο...[.
10]ν καταλεξ[..
πρε]σβέων ο̣ις....[.
] ἐξηγητη.[

. . . .

Col. ii

1 ὁ ἐξηγητής· Καῖσαρ ἀνείκητε ἥρως ουτ̣ο̣ι.[...
Ἀλεξανδρείων πρέσβεις ἡμᾶς δε
οι.[.]..[..]..ε̣μερισάμεθα τὴν πρεσβε̣[ίαν
υ.[.]...υ̣ ἕκ[α]στος ἡμῶν δυνατός εστ[...
5 α̣[..].. Θεόδωρος ὑπὲρ τῆς Αἰγύπτου α̣[....
Α[..].οκρατης ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἰδίου λόγου θε..[....
...].ε̣υς.ο̣ν ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεος και̣.[....
....]με̣ν οὐκ ἀπολλωγησαμεν̣ο̣[..].[.]..[....
.....].μενοι δε σου τ.[].[
10 .....].ης αντιλημ[
.....].ωντων ημε[
.....].....ασοσα.[
.....].....α....ς[

. . . .

Fr. 1 Col. i 1 l. *καῖσαρ* 6–7 l. *λελυπηκέναι* 8 l. *ἢ* 9 ...[: back and base of circular letter; then perhaps shallow base curve, as of *c* etc.; then point of ink at half line-height 11 ....[: horizontal level with top of *c*, perhaps point at line-level below; top of tall upright; tops of two more uprights 12 .[: curved back as of *o* or *c*

Fr. 1 Col. ii 1 .[: rounded back as of *εθοcω* 3 .[: upright sloping strongly upwards to right]..[: high horizontal, trace of upright below; upper left quadrant of circle (perhaps with descending cross-bar, i.e. *ε*) 4 .[: upright]...: tip of low horizontal; descender; curved base as of *c* etc. 5]..: descending oblique joins upright at middle height 6].: high horizontal joining upright (*π* or *τ*) 7].: horizontal joining *ε* at middle height *ϛ.ρ*: high horizontal, perhaps trace of upright below l. *πόλεωc* .[: horizontal as of *τ* 8 l. *ἀπολογηcαμενο*[ ]..[: low curve and cross-bar as of *ε* or *θ*; foot of upright 9 *τ*.[: left-hand arc as of *ο*].[: upper curve as of *ο* or *c* 11].: high horizontal as of *τ* 12].....: second is lower curve of *ο* or *c*; then upright with traces above to left (*υ* ?); then *ε* or *θ*; then point at line-level, and junction like right side of *η* or *π* .[: tip as of *τ*

Fr. 2

1].[.].. []*ωγ*[
]*φεν*.*ακ*...[
].....*γτα*[
]...*ν*.*α*...[
5]..[.]....*α*.[
].[..].[.]..*c*.[
]..*αγ*...*ου*.[
]...

. . . .

Fr. 2 1]..[: probably lower half of *η*: then upright and traces of another, sloping up from left to right (e.g. *ημωγ*[) 2...[: first is *ο* or *ω* 4 *ν*.*α*: long top joining slanted upright (*τ*?*χ*?) ...[: first is sloping top as of *τ* 5]..[: first is right-angle, perhaps *γ*]....: first is top of upright: then *π* or *τ*: fourth perh. *λ* *α*.[: *ν*[or *λ*.[6].[.]: curving leg as of *η*, *π* 7 ...*ου*.[: flat base; before *ο* perhaps *κ* or .*c*; after *υ* back of round letter (*δοκουc*[?)

Col. i 'Imperator Caesar Augustus Pontifex Tribuniciae Potestatis XIV Imperator XII to the people of the Alexandrians, greetings. The envoys whom you sent came to me in Gaul and delivered your other commissions and also informed me of the things which seem to have aggrieved you in previous years...'

Col. ii 'The Exegete: "Caesar, unconquered hero, these (are?) the envoys of the Alexandrians; and we (?)... have divided up the embassy among ourselves (according to the subjects?) about which each of us is able... Theodorus about Egypt... Harpocrates (?) about the Idios Logos... I about the city... not to defend ourselves (but to require?) of you (your imperial?) intervention...'

Fr. 1 Col. i 1 *καίcαροc*: simple error for *καῖcαρ*.

ἀρχιε[*ρ*]*εύc*: there is no space for *μέγιcτοc*. So e.g. the letter to Sardis, Ehrenberg and Jones, *Documents* 99 ii.

2 *τὸ ἓδ'*: 1 July 10 B.C. to 30 June 9 B.C.

3 *τὸ ι*]*β'*: the remaining trace of the numeral seems at first sight to be an iota. But (*a*) this leaves the line a little short; (*b*) *trib. pot.* XIV should correspond to *imp.* XII or XIII (Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage* i 45); and XIV itself cannot be emended, because it fits exactly with the visit to Gaul (4 note). I therefore take the trace to be the right side of a cursive beta; the point of ink visible on the broken edge to the left must then be the tip of the other side.

Ἀλεξανδρείων δήμωι: *Ἀλεξανδρέων τῇ πόλει* PJews 1912. 15 f., letter of Claudius, and PUG inv.

8562 v., letter of Nero (see *SDHI* 36 (1970) 414 f.); something equally brief in damaged letters of Gaius and of Trajan (Musurillo, *Acta* III iii 27; **3022** 4). Greek cities are normally addressed with the formula *ἄρχουcι βουλῇ δήμῳ* or *ἄρχουcι βουλῇ*: thus Sardis and Cnidus in letters of Augustus (Ehrenberg and Jones 99 ii and 312); Antinoopolis in letters of various emperors (PStrass. 130; PAnt. 191); the Egyptian metropoleis after Severus (e.g. CPHerm. 121. 8). But Alexandria is singular, and the form of address emphasizes the fact: no *archontes*, no *boule*. For the spelling in *-είων*, see Mayser I² i (ed. Schmoll, 1970) 43.

4 *εἰc Γαλατείαν*: Dio 54. 36. 4 and Orosius 6. 21. 22 mention the visit of Augustus to Gaul, apparently in 10 B.C. The Alexandrian envoys travelled until they caught up with him: cf. Millar, *JRS* 56 (1966) 163.

For the general outline, cf. the letter to Sardis: *οἱ πρέcβειc ὑμῶν ... cυνέτυχον ἐν Ῥώμῃ μοι καὶ τὸ παρ' ὑμῶν ψήφιcμα ἀπέδοcαν δι' οὗ τά τε δόξαντα ὑμεῖν περὶ ὑμῶν δηλοῦντεc καὶ cυνήδεcθε κτλ.*

7 The simplest reading would be *ἐν τοῖ*[*c ἔ*]*μποροcθε*[*ν*] *ἔτ*ϛ*ειν ἠδήλωcαν* (l. *ἐδήλ-*).

*ἔτ*ϛ*ειν*: there is a vertical trace below *c* to the left; and a higher short vertical seems to close it on the right. Perhaps the scribe wrote *ετειν*, and corrected *ιν* to *ει*.

ἠδήλωcαν: perhaps for *ἐδήλ-*. (A mis-spelling; the phenomenon of double augment is too rare to make a good explanation, see Mayser 1. 2. 94.) The alternatives are: (*a*) to write *ἤ* or *ἦ δηλώcαν*[*τεc*; but I see no construction; (*b*) to assume corruption: Turner suggests *ἤδ*⟨*η ἐδ*⟩*ήλωcαν* (cf. 8 f. note).

8 f. Assume that *εἰ* is for *ἤ*, and *ἡμετε-* for *ὑμετε-* (the emperor would say *ἐμούc*); we need a masculine plural noun; perhaps then e.g. *πρό*[*τε*]*ρον εἶ τοὺc ἡμετέ*[*ρουc πρέcβειc προcελθ*]*εῖν*, 'I had heard of (taken thought for) these things before your embassy arrived.' If this approach is right, we need a plain aorist (without *ἤδη*) in 7; and a new sentence begins with 8.]*ωι* looks like a dative, but the iota may well be another mis-spelling (*ἐγ*]*ὼι* etc.). Further uncertainties:]*ειν*, even supposing it to be an infinitive, need not depend on *πρότερον ἤ*; what follows may or may not begin a new clause, see 9 note.

9 *τηcδεο*...[: *τῆc δεο*...[, *τῆcδε ο*...[, *τῆc δὲ ο*...[. The first leads nowhere; *δεούc*[*ηc* is excluded by the *υ*. For the rest, the trace suggests *oc*..[or (perhaps better) *oθ*..[.

10 *καταλεξ*[: *κατὰ λεξ*[or *κατ' Ἀλεξ*[.

11 *οιc*, with a low ligature between *ο* and *ι*, looks a better reading than *πιc* (which requires a cursive form of *π* not found elsewhere in the piece). *ο ιc-* is not promising ('*Ἰcιδ-* cannot be read). Therefore *οἷc*; then perhaps *τ*...[.

Col. ii 1 *ὁ ἐξηγητήc*: this indication of speaker is set out in the left margin. There may or may not have been introductory matter in the lower part of col. i. For the role of the exegete, cf. **2435** 1 note.

ἀνείκητε: Julius Caesar was voted a statue with the inscription *deo invicto*, or so Dio says (43. 45. 3); but Augustus vetoed the title when it was offered to Tiberius (Suet. *Tib.* 17. 2), and it does not appear in the official titulary of any emperor before Commodus. Unofficial usage was naturally freer: for example, Horace, *Sat.* 2. 1. 11. In the East there was the precedent of Alexander and later Hellenistic kings (PW s.v. Victor, Nachträge 2485 f.); though again I have not found *ἀνίκητοc* attested inscriptionally earlier than Trajan.

ἥρωc: the dead are regularly so called in inscriptions, but only the dead (Robert, *Hellenica* 13. 207); so in Dio Antony uses it of the dead Caesar, and Tiberius of the deified Augustus (44. 49. 1, 56. 41. 9). Only in exceptional cases were heroic honours given to the living: to Dion, Timoleon, and others (PW s.v. Heros 1139 f.). Perhaps this is the precedent for the heroizing of Augustus. It is true that later Hellenistic times assigned divine, not merely heroic, honours to living rulers. This was possible in Egypt too: BGU 1200 (2/1 B.C.) and **1143**, both private documents, refer to Augustus as *θεὸc καὶ κύριοc*. Perhaps the Alexandrians found this too extravagant; perhaps they intended an allusion to their founder, the Invincible Alexander, who at his tomb received heroic honours (Diod. 18. 28. 4, **2435** 20).

ουτοι.[...: perhaps *οὗτοί ϛ*[*ίcιν*.

2–3 The fixed point here is *ἐμεριcαμεθα* (i.e. *ἐμεριcάμεθα*, or the compounds in *δι-*, *cυν-*, etc.; the traces are too slight to exclude any of these). 'We have divided up the embassy among ourselves': the construction leaves no tie for *ἡμᾶc*; probably we should emend to *ἡμεῖc*. At the beginning of 3, *οι* is certain; then most obviously *λ* or *μ* (not *α* or *δ*, for the junction would show; not apparently a slanted

τ or anything similar, since no cross-bar is visible at any level). A nominative *οἱ* .[would suit the grammar.

4 *υ*.[.]...*υ*: probably *ὑπὲρ ου̣ῖ̣*.

5]..: not]*ν* but]*αι* or some similar ligature, to judge from the height of the join. -*α̣*[*cθ*]*α̣ι* could be read; but I have not found a restoration which satisfies space and syllable-division.

Θεόδωροc: not elsewhere in the *Acta*. *ὑπέρ* may govern *Αἰγύπτου*, or a further noun (which would fill the line-end neatly). E.g. *ἀ*[*πορίας*, *ἀ*[*ξιώcεωc* are probably too long; Rea suggests *ἀ*[*ρχῆc*.

6 *Α*[..].*οκράτηc*: the spacing favours *Ἀ*[*ρ*]*τοκράτηc* (rather than *Ἀ*[*ριc*]*τοκράτηc*); neither name elsewhere in the *Acta*.

θε..[: apparently not *θεω*[; perhaps *θεο̣δ̣*[. This might be the name of a third speaker, so that the exegete is fourth and last. But I cannot find his subject-matter at the beginning of 7, where].*ευcτ̣ον* looks a likely reading. Alternatively, there may have been only three speakers in all; *θε*..[would then be governed by *ὑπέρ*, or attach somehow else to the Idios Logos.

8 I take the general sense to be 'we have come not to defend ourselves but to (claim our rights).' E.g. *πάρεc*]*μεν οὐκ ἀπολλογηιcάμενο*[*ι* – – – *δε*]*όμενοι δὲ coῦ*. Cf. **2435** 58 *λόγῳ γὰρ ὑμεῖc* (l. *ἡμ-*) [*ἵκετε*]*ύcαντεc* (aorist participle for future again) *πάρεcμεν, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲc κτλ*. This may be a brusque way to address an emperor, but it is not therefore excluded. Note the Dmeir inscription (no doubt an authentic extract from imperial *commentarii*), where one of the advocates is decidedly offhand with Caracalla (*SEG* xvii 759. 32). The Alexandrian request was perhaps for imperial intervention: 10 *αὐτοκρατορι*]*κῆc* (or *τῆc*] *cῆc*) *ἀντιλήμ*[*ψεωc* (cf. BGU 613. 13 *δεόμενοc τῆc ἀπὸ coῦ ἀντιλήμψεωc τυχεῖν*).

Fr. 2 Nothing is certain here. It looks as if the space above line 1, and the space at the end of line 8, are blank except for stray ink: this means the top of a column and the end of a section. But even this is not secure, given the damage to the surface.

3021. *Acta Alexandrinorum*

24 3B.74/J (b) 6 × 13 cm. First century

One side of this scrap has remains of bold first-century cursive, partly covered by an adhering layer with writing in a different hand. On the other side, written across the fibres, is **3021**. Of this only ends survive; the original line-length can only be guessed, since there are no certain supplements to guide us. To the right, traces of a second column. Line 17 was probably the last of the column (the space below is not wide enough to prove it, but the disposition of the text on the front suggests that this was the original lower edge).

The text mentions Alexandrian envoys, an emperor, and the Jews: it is clearly likely to belong to the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. One of the envoys was Isidorus son of Dionysius (6). If this is the gymnasiarch of the *Acta Isidori*, we may take the emperor to be Claudius and regard **3021** as part of the same *Acta*. This view is consistent with the *terminus ante* provided by the hand, which is a decent half-cursive to be compared e.g. with that of the Ninus Romance (Roberts, *GLH* 11a) and dated not later than the first century. If it is correct, this version of the *Acta Isidori* was circulating comparatively soon after its dramatic date, and a century or more earlier than the other recensions. But of course Isidorus is a common name; an envoy named Ti. Claudius [ ] (5) might appear at any time after the reign of Tiberius; and the *Acta Diogenis* and *Hermiae* might be alternative locations, even among the surviving documents.

The general outline is clear: the emperor takes his seat, the envoys appear and address him. On the surface, 11–13 may claim the restoration of old Jewish privileges; 14–16 may accuse the Jews of irreligion. Both these are novelties in the *Acta*. But the space leaves wide latitude for contrary restorations. Another novelty: the patronymic of Isidorus, if this is the gymnasiarch, was not so far known.

On the history of the *Acta*, see **3020** introduction.

	Col. i	Col. ii
↓	].κου[....].α̣ρα.[	
	].ac καὶ ἐκάθιcεν	[
	] ταῦτα υ c̣υ̣[ν]κ̣αθημε-	.[
	μ]ετὰ ταῦτα εἰcῆλθαν	α[
5	] Τιβέριοc Κλαύδιοc	[
	]c Ἰcίδωροc Διονυcίο(υ)	[
	]. πρέcβειc πάντεc	[
	αὐ]τοκράτωρ cεβαcτέ	.[
	Ἀλεξ]α̣νδρέων πρέcβειc	.[
10	]αιων λέγετε	[
	]θα cε κύριε cεβαcτέ	[
	] προόντα τοῖc Ἰουδαίοιc	[
	].α νῦν ἐcτέρηνται	[
	]ν ἀλλὰ τῆc τ̣ῶν θεῶν	[
15	].εν τοῖc ἱεροῖc αὐτῶν	[
	] κατεμπατ̣ουνται	[
	]νομενο[..].υ..	[

i 6 *διονυcι*^{o}

'... and took his seat ... his assessors (?) ... after this there entered ... Tiberius Claudius ... Isidorus son of Dionysius ... all (the?) ambassadors ... "... Lord Emperor! ... ambassadors of the Alexandrians ... "... (what do?) you say (about the Jews?) ..." "... (we beseech) you, Lord Emperor ... preexisting for the Jews ... now deprived ... but of the ... of the gods ... in their temples ... are trampled ...'

1].: an upright (*ι* etc.).

2].ac: the trace is no more than a hooked foot at line-level. *Ἀγρίπ*]*πac* would be possible (he has a speaking part in *Acta Isidori* C). But *ἐκάθιcεν* should refer to the emperor, as in *Act. Isid.* A i 16, **2435** 30.

3 Perhaps *μετὰ*] *ταῦτα ὁ* (= *οἱ*) *c̣υ̣*[*ν*]*καθήμε*[*νοι ἐκάθιcαν*. The assessors are common form: *Act. Isid.* A ii 5, B i 1; **2435** 34. On the other hand, they don't elsewhere appear in the prescript; and this

scribe does not elsewhere make phonetic errors. But I can find no other reading: of the crucial letters, υ is clear and ς very likely.

5]*Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος*: the *Acta Isid.* refer to the emperor as *Κλαύδιος καῖσαρ*. This Ti. Claudius is more likely to be one of the party of envoys, who are listed in this line and the next: cf. Claudius' *Letter*, PJews 1912. 16–20.

6 *Ἰσίδωρος Διονυσίο(υ)* may or may not be the famous gymnasiarch (who has no patronymic elsewhere in the *Acta*).

7].:]ι or]ν.

10 *Ἰουδ]αίων*? Perhaps the emperor tells the Jewish envoys to speak; and they (11–13) reply: 'We beg you to restore the preexisting rights of the Jews, of which they have now been deprived.'

11 Probably *-με]θα*.

13].α: the trace is of a curving foot, which joins the alpha: *ἀλ]λὰ νῦν*, rather than]. *ἃ νῦν*. On the face of it, 12–13 concern *former* privileges of the Jews, *now* taken away. But there are remoter possibilities, given the size of the lacuna.

14–16 would suit a charge of *ἀθεότης* against the Jews (see Jos. *Ap.* 2. 79 f., Tac. *Hist.* 5. 4): e.g. 'they despise the worship of the gods, keep no images in their temples, trample under foot normal usages of piety.'

15].ev: the trace is of ρ or possibly ι. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 5. 5 'nulla simulacra urbibus suis, nedum templis sistunt.'

16] *καταεμπατοῦνται*: the verb is not in LSJ and Suppl. But the articulation]*κατ'* is unpromising; and *κατ* rather than *κα*ι is strongly suggested by the traces. *ἐμπατεῖν τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμμα* Agathias 4. 15. 7.

3022. Letter of Trajan to Alexandria

20 3B.36/E (5–7) b 19·3 × 16·8 cm. A.D. 98

The front of this sheet is occupied by a much-damaged private letter, hastily written with many deletions. The back was later used to copy a letter of Trajan; the copy is written across the fibres in a large crude hand (clearly not official or professional); the hand is not likely to be much later than the text itself.

The letter is an official communication to the city of Alexandria, headed with full imperial titles. It was written some time between 1 October and 9 December A.D. 98 (3 note). Its content is one of generalized benevolence: the emperor has the most friendly feelings towards the city; he and his prefect will take care for its well-being and privileges. Similar sentiments occur in other formal addresses to Alexandria: in the letters by which Augustus and Claudius replied to embassies (**3020**; PJews 1912); and two manifestos of unknown rulers, the 'Speech of Vespasian' SB 9528, and the 'Letter of Severus Alexander' SB 10295 (see now Bowman, *JRS* 60 (1970) 20 ff.). Accessions are likely to call forth such diplomacy; and no doubt Trajan is here replying to a request for confirmation of the city's privileges—a request which will have reached him some months after his accession on 28 January 98. At the same time the letter introduces the new prefect in a halo of future benefits.

Trajan did in fact show some benevolence to Alexandria, at least in the construction of fountains and gates (Dio Chrys., *Or.* xxxii 95). For the rest, he figures as villain in the *Acta Maximi* and *Acta Hermaisci*. It is of course possible that **3022** was copied as

part of the *Acta* literature, not merely for its own sake. But, whatever the copyist's interest, it has all the appearance of a genuine document.

↓ [*Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Νέρουας Τραιανὸς*]
[*Σεβαστὸς Γ*]*ερμαν*[*ικὸς ἀ*]*ρχ*[*ι*]*ερεὺ*[*ς*] *μέγι*[*στος*
[*δημαρχικῆ*]*ς ἐξουσί*[*α*]*ς τὸ β̄ ὕπατος Ἀλεξ*[...
[.....] *καὶ τ*[.]*ν τῆς πόλεως η*[....
5 [.....]*ς ἐξα*[*ίρε*]*τον πρὸς τοὺς σεβ*[*αστοὺς*
.....]*ν, καὶ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ πα-*
[*τρός μο*]*υ μεμνημένος ἃς παρέσχεν ὑμεῖν*
[.....]*ν*..*ταις πρώτ*[..]. *τῆς ἡγεμονίας, καὶ*
[...].*α τούτων τῶν δικαίων ἔχων καὐτὸς*
10 [*π*]*ρ*[*ὸ*]*ς ἡμᾶς διάθεσιν ἰδίαν, παρεθέμην*
ὑμᾶς πρῶτον μὲν ἐμαυτῷ, εἶτα καὶ τῷ
φίλῳ μου καὶ ἐπάρχῳ Πομπείῳ Πλάντᾳ,
ἵνα μετὰ πάσης φροντίδος προνοῇ
ὑμῶν τῆς εὐσταθοῦς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς
15 *εὐθηνίας καὶ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ καθ' ἕκας-*
[*τον δι*]*καίων· ἐξ ὧν εὔδηλον ου*[.....
[.....]*τουτο μέγιστον ἔργῳ*.....[.....
[.....].*μιζοντος τουμ*[.....
[.....*μ*]*εταλαμβαν*..*ν*.[.....
20 [ ]*μα*[
[ ]*ο*.[
[ ].[
. . . .

10 l. *ὑμᾶς*

'Imperator Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribuniciae potestatis II consul, to (the city of?) the Alexandrians . . . (Being well aware of) your city's outstanding loyalty towards the emperors, and having in mind the benefits which my deified father conferred on you . . . of his reign, and for my own part also, (over and above?) these claims (of yours), having a personal feeling of benevolence towards you, I have commended you first of all to myself, then in addition to my friend and prefect Pompeius Planta, so that he can take every care in providing for your undisturbed tranquillity and your food-supply and your communal and individual rights. From which (it will be?) clear . . .'

3 *τὸ β̄*: this term of *trib. pot.* formed a stop-gap between two different reckonings, and lasted less than three months, i.e. October to 9 December A.D. 98 (Pauly–Wissowa Suppl. x 1047 f.). This conforms with the mention of Pompeius Planta as prefect (l. 12): Junius Rufus was still in office on 21 June 98

(PFamTebt. 15. 105); Planta had succeeded him by the end of 98 (Dessau 8907). The scribe must therefore have made a mistake about the consulship: ὕπατος ⟨τὸ β⟩ is required.

3–4 Parallel texts have Ἀλεξανδρέων τῇ πόλει χαίρειν or Ἀλεξανδρείων δήμῳ χαίρειν: **3020** i 3 n. The space here is too short for either formula, or even for Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι χαίρειν. Perhaps χαίρειν was omitted; or something was abbreviated.

4 ff. Some of the same clichés in PJews 1912. 21 ff.

4 η[: probably ἡ[μῶν, l. ὑμῶν (as in 10). In what follows, we need a noun with τ[.]ν, and a participle to govern it, e.g. καὶ τ[ὴ]ν τῆς πόλεως ἡ[μῶν] [5] [εὔνοιαν ὡ]ς ἐξα[ίρε]τον πρὸς τοὺς σεβ[αστοὺς] [6] [νομίζω]ν, or (as the Press Reader suggests) [5] [μεμαθηκὼ]ς and [6] [εὔνοια]ν. The difficulty is σεβ[αστούς], where the supplement is about three letters more than expected; σεβ[αστ(ούς)] might be possible; σεβ[ας|[6]τοὺς ὁρῶ]ν gives another long supplement.

8 Perhaps [πρώη]ν ἐν ταῖς πρώτ[αι]ς, 'which he conferred on you recently among the first (benefits conferred) in his reign'.

9 ...].α: not ἔνε]κα; the trace before α is apparently a flat-topped letter like tau. Perhaps με]τά.

12 τῷ φίλῳ μου: *amico meo* (see Sherwin-White on Pliny, *Ep.* x 7).

16 ἐξ ὧν εὔδηλον: see **2664** 6, note, for this formula.

17 ff. The sense was perhaps in outline: you will see clearly the attitude of an emperor who thinks (ν]ομίζοντος) that his greatest task is this (τοῦτο μέγιστον ἔργῳ), namely that you should share ... (τὸ ὑμ[ᾶς – – – μ]εταλαμβάνειν).

3023. Proceedings before an Emperor

25 3B.56/H (e) 15·5 × 12 cm. Second century

Remains of two columns, with intercolumnium and lower margin. The hand is a fine rounded one, of the same style as the Berlin *Theaetetus Commentary* (Schubart, *PGB* 31): it should belong to the second century, and earlier rather than later. The back has been reused for a much damaged text of which I can make nothing at all.

The text is a report of proceedings. The parties named are an Emperor (i 5, ii 4) and a Claudius Atilianus (ii 7); Antiochenes are involved (ii 5, if the reading is correct). Otherwise the matter is quite uncertain. Col. i perhaps mentions a woman (9) and the presentation of a ὑπόμνημα (11 ff.) by a person or group called τυρ[....] or Τυρ[....]. Col. ii concerns itself with a δικαίωμα, which has been produced against the Antiochenes.

The only firm point is Clau. Atilianus, whom I have not identified; three Atiliani are known, all of the earlier second century, one of them a consul and the other two *procuratores Augusti* (ii 7 n.). On the face of it, he speaks for the Antiochenes.

Beyond this we can only assume that Ἀντιοχεῖς is a certain reading, and speculate on this basis. The Antiochenes figure as a group: in what sort of case, is not clear. But why should Antiochene business turn up in Egypt? The most obvious congeners of this text are the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. We have no record of conflict between Antioch and the Roman authorities, except when the city adhered to Avidius Cassius. But it was rich and self-important; and under Gaius, Claudius, and Nero at least conducted a recurrent war with its Jewish colony (G. Downey, *History of Antioch in Syria* 192, 199, 205). Did it develop *Acta* of its own? and did the Alexandrian Greeks take a brotherly interest in them? The *Acta Hermaisci* make an interesting comparison: here,

in proceedings before Trajan, two delegations from Alexandria appear in court; the Jewish group includes Σώπατρος Ἀντιοχεὺς τῷ γένει συνήγορος ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων; the Greeks include Παῦλος Τύριος τῷ γένει αὐθαίρετος συνήγορος ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξανδρέων (Musurillo VIII i 15 and 9). Antioch appears in our text; and Τύρ[ιοι is an attractive supplement at i 12.

	Col. i	Col. ii	
	. . . .		
→	....]α..[		
	...]ματο[		
	..]ασσου εν[	. . . .	
	..]θενανα..[	..[	1
5	καῖσα]ρ εἶπεν· λεγεσθω	.[	
	....]φος...αναγει	κη[	
	.....].νουτ.[..]ψη	καῖσα[ρ] εἶπεν· τιλ[....	
	.....]προση.[.]θεν	Ἀντιοχεῖς προς[...	5
	..].αικοστουφ[	τὸ δικαίωμα	
10	...].ναπωνιν[	Κλαύδιος Ἀτιλιανὸς [ἀπε-	
	...]ει με υπομν.[..]..	κρίθη· θειότατε αὐτ[ο-	
	..]. ἐπεὶ καὶ τυρ[....	κρατόρων, πιστευε[	
	...]μνημα μοι δ[....	τού]τῳ τῷ δικαιώμ[α-	10
	....]και [[μ]]περι᾽ε᾽με.[...	τι] ὡς ἀληθῆ ὄντι καὶ	

(ii 4 ff.) 'Caesar said: What do the Antiochenes say (?) in answer to this (?) claim?
Claudius Atilianus replied: Most divine of emperors, do you (?) put faith in this claim as if it were a true one and ...'

Col. i The speeches in col ii are set off by ecthesis and (at least between ii 6 and 7) by wider line-space. i 5 similarly follows a wide line-space, and contains the verb ειπεν. The reconstruction assumes that a speech begins here, and that the line similarly projected 1½ letters into the left margin. No other verb of speaking is visible in the lines which follow, and their spacing is normal: I assume therefore that they are all part of the same speech.

Not much is to be made of the content. If the first-person pronouns in 11–14 refer to the Emperor, the situation is one in which he has received a memorandum: 11 υπομνη[, 12 f. ἐπεὶ καὶ τυρ[....] | [ὑπό]μνημά μοι δ[εδωκ-?]. A ὑπόμνημα plays some part in the *Acta Heracliti* (Musurillo XVIII). Otherwise we may have an appearance before a magistrate, and a woman: see 8 and 9 notes.

6 Of χ only the shaft; perhaps ι.

7]ψη: apparently not]φη.

8 προσῆλθεν might fill the space, though the trace is rather low for λ.

9 γυ]ναικὸς fits neatly.

10].: a high horizontal, intersecting the top of an upright to the left: e.g. γ, but perhaps just a linking stroke.

11 Perhaps ὑπομνη[ς]α.

12 *τυρ*[: if the articulation, and the restoration [*ὑπό*]*μνημα* in 13, are right, the word should be complete in about four letters. *τύραννος* isn't obviously attractive. There are better chances among personal and geographical names: e.g. (given the mention of Antiochenes in ii 5) *Τύρ*[*ιοι*.

14 The last trace possibly *η* or *κ*; not *ι* (therefore *περὶ ἐμὲ* .[rather than *περιέμει*[*ν-*).

Col. ii 4 *τι*[: if the next line is correctly read, one expects *τί λ*[*έγετε* or *λ*[*έγουσιν*; both give an abnormally long line, but cf. on 5.

5 *Ἀντιοχεῖς*: this is the crucial reading. *τι* might be *υ*; but I cannot see where it would lead. *ρ* is damaged to the right; but *ε* and *c* suit the trace less well.

προς[...: one expects *πρὸς* [*τοῦτο*, which is again two letters longer than any of the certainly restored lines below.

7 *Κλαύδιος Ἀτιλιανός*: I cannot identify this Atilianus. *PIR* offers only (1) A 1461 C. Aurelius Atilianus: *procurator Augusti* and (if it is the same man) addressee of a rescript of Antoninus; (2) C 250 P. Calpurnius Atilianus Atticus (?) Rufus (?), consul 135; (3) V 438 L. Villius Atilianus, *equestribus militiis functus, procurator Augusti* (Hadrian). All these have official standing, and are of the same era as the papyrus.

9 *πιστευε*[: *πίστευε*, imperative? or *πιστεύε*[*ις* (statement or question)? or even *πιστεύε*[*ιν* (with main verb at the end of the sentence)? Since the *δικαίωμα* is advanced on the other side, it seems most likely that *ὡς ἀληθῆ ὄντι* means 'as if it were true'; in which case the simple imperative is unlikely.

3024. Letter of Prefect

21 3B.26/E (5–6) b 3·2 × 17·5 cm. Second century

A letter from the prefect Vibius Maximus (A.D. 103/7), copied in a crude second-century cursive on the back of a now illegible document. Only line-beginnings survive.

The letter was addressed (probably) to a single strategus, and contained instructions about an individual case (3 note); edicts were mentioned (5, 10). The only real clue to content is the word *σκηνικω*[(12). This might refer to actors, or to stage performances. In either case we might guess that the prefect concerned himself with the privileges of a Dionysiac Artist. The letter falls before the edict of Hadrian which defined these privileges in detail (**2476** 4); but no doubt there will have been earlier edicts, even though **2476** does not cite them; the privileges themselves certainly go back to Augustus and Claudius (**2476** 1–4).

At the foot of the sheet, after a space, a second hand has added five iambic lines. The subject of this text was perhaps the wrath of Ajax; there is no clue to the source or authorship. The hand is more ambitious, but still amateur.

Drama, and even tragedy, continued to exist in Roman Egypt: see Turner, *L'Ant. class.* 32 (1963) 120 ff. It looks as if **3024** belonged to a performer, interested both in dramatic privileges and in dramatic texts.

↓ *ἀντίγραφ*[*ον*
Ο]*ὐίβιος Μά*[*ξιμος*
c]*τρατηγ*..[
παραγιλ[
5 *διατετα*[

....]*λοιc*[
....]*εμ*.[
....]*τω*[
.]..*κ*.*ρι*[
10 *διεταξα*[
γὰρ αὐτῷ .[
σκηνικω[
τὴν ἐμὴν [
εδιcεμοι[

15 (*m.*²) *αιαντιμηκ*[
νέα φρόνηcις [
ου ῥᾳδίως τοδ.[
στείχοντος [
Ἕλληcι θυμ[

3 The traces allow either *c*]*τρατηγῷ* or *c*]*τρατηγοῖc*. But in 14 the articulation *ἔδ*⟨*ε*⟩*ι cέ μοι* [looks more likely than *ἔδ*⟨*ε*⟩*ιcέ μοι* [; and *cε* then points to a singular addressee.

4 E.g. *παραγ*⟨*ε*⟩*ίλ*[*αι*.

5 E.g. *διατετα*[*γμένα*, cf. 10.

9 *τ*]*οῦ κυρί*[*ου* could be read.

11 *αὐτῷ*: the short space which follows implies a word-end here.

12 *σκηνικῷ* or *σκηνικῶ*[*ν*. In published papyri, the word occurs only in the prolix titulature of the artistic–gymnastic games at Panopolis (**2476** 18 etc.) and Oxyrhynchus (BGU 1074. 16 etc.), the first founded in A.D. 265 and the second in *c.* 275. The noun *σκηνικός*, 'actor', occurs in literature.

15 *Αἶαν* or *Αἴαντι*; *αἶαν* is equally possible in itself, but Ajax suits line 19. Perhaps *Αἴαντι μὴ κ*[.

17 *οὐ* or *οὗ*.

3025. Letter of Epistrategus

19 2B.74/L (a) 18·7 × 15·5 cm. 17 July 118

This letter is introduced by a proclamation (*πρόγραμμα*) of the strategus, who had been ordered to display it publicly. The letter itself (7 ff.) is concerned with liturgical appointments. That the epistrategus played some part in these was already well known: see N. Lewis, *CdÉ* 44 (1969) 339 ff. **3025** adds two new pieces of information. First, the epistrategus had recorded the names of those appointed in his *commentarii*, which were (as usual) on public display; it is implied that no other notification might have been made. Second, the epistrategus insists that all the appointees have had their qualifications properly examined, in accordance with the prefect's instructions (14 f.). These *ἐντολαί*, otherwise unknown, of Q. Rammius Martialis, were presumably similar in content to those which Mettius Rufus (A.D. 89–91) issues to the strategi in SB 9050

col. v; see the discussion of Mettius' rules by A. Kränzlein, *JJP* 6 (1952) 195 ff. and E. P. Wegener, *Symb. Taubenschlag* 1. 331 ff.

The back is blank.

→ *Δημ[ήτ]ριος στρατηγ[ὸς] Ὀξυρυγχε[ίτο]υ·*
τῆς γραφείσης μοι ὑπὸ Ἰου[λί]ου Μαξιμιανοῦ [τ]οῦ κρατίστου
ἐπιστρα[τήγου] περὶ κατ[αστ]άσεως πραγμ[ατ]ικῶν
ἀντίγρ[αφον] δημοσίᾳ π[ρο]έθηκα ὡς [ἐκε]λεύσθη,
5 *ἵνα πάντες εἰδῶσι ἃ δ[ι]ετάξατο. ἔτους δευτέρου*
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τρ[αιαν]οῦ Ἁδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπεὶφ κ̅γ̅.
Ἰούλιος Μαξιμιανὸς Δημητρίωι στρ(ατηγῷ) Ὀξυρυγχείτου χαίρειν.
εἰ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑπομνη[μ]ατισμῶν οὓς προτέθεικα
δῆλα ἔσται τὰ τῶν κα[τ]ασταθέντων εἰς τὰς πρα-
10 *γματείας ὀνόματα, οὐ περισσὸν ἡγησάμην τὸ καὶ διὰ*
τῆς ἐπιστολῆς αὐτὰ ποιῆσαι φανερά, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν
βούλομαί σε ἐν δημοσίῳ [πρ]οθεῖναι τόπῳ· πέπεισμαι
γὰρ ἅπαντας τοὺς κατασταθέντας ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ὡς ὑπο-
λαμβάνω ἐπιμελῶς καὶ μεθ' ἧς προσῆκεν ἐξετάσεως
15 *ἀκολούθως τα]ῖ[ς το]ῦ κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος ἐντολαῖς*
. . . . . .

7 στρ̅ζ̅

'Demetrius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite:

I have put on public display, as instructed, a copy of the letter written to me by Julius Maximianus the most excellent epistrategus about the appointment of officials, so that every one may know the regulations he has made. Second year of Imperator Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Epeiph 23.

"Julius Maximianus to Demetrius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, greetings. Even though the names of those who have been appointed to the offices will be clear from the day-books which I have displayed, I have thought it not superfluous to announce them in this letter also, which letter too I wish you to display in a public place. For I am persuaded that all those appointed by me . . . in my judgement, carefully and with the proper investigation [in accordance with] the commands of the most excellent prefect . . ."'

1 The first three words make a complete prescript, as e.g. PIand. 140, PLeit. 5. 19 f., PYale 61. This is our earliest reference to Demetrius (17 July 118); he is seen in office later in **1547** 1 (23 Jan. 119) and PFouad 30. 1 (26 Jan. 121).

2 Maximianus is attested a month earlier by PSI 281. 41 ff. (19 June 118).

6 *Ἐπεὶφ κ̅γ̅*: this date fits the categories of official normally appointed by the epistrategus (see Lewis l.c.). Thus the appointments of practors regularly took place in Pachon/Payni.

3026. Official Correspondence

20 3B.37/D (3) a — 33 × 23·3 cm. — *c.* 165/6

This tattered sheet contains copies of official letters: on the front two columns, the first full width; on the back a docket, written along the fibres, and a further letter in a different hand (printed below as **3027**). The sheet is damaged at head and foot; to judge from the docket, not much is missing at the head, but 8 cm. or more at the foot (i 26 n.).

The correspondence is that between the Idios Logos and the strategus and royal scribe of the Metelite nome. The originals were written in the period 29 August 165 to 5 May 166 (i 6 n.). The copy was made for (or by) the strategus (i 10 *ἐμοί*); he was in office when the letter i 14 ff. reached him, out of office when the docket was written (*Back* 1 *στρατηγήσαντος*).

i 9 begins a new section, set off by a blank line-space. The letter itself begins in 14. Before it is an elaborate heading in three sections: the authority from whom the letter issues (9), the parties involved (10–11), summary of content (12–13). The same letter perhaps continues to ii 26; but it would be very long, and in any case the docket (*Back* 2) implies a plurality; probably we should assume a fresh start between i 24 and ii 5.

So far as can be seen, then, this is a copy of correspondence received. Other such letter-books are known, see PBeattyPanop. pp. xxi f. But the elaboration of i 9–13 is not easy to parallel. PAmh. 137. 15 is something like. Closer still is the letter published in *JEA* 55 (1969) 189, whose heading might be restored: *Ὀάσεως Θηβαΐδος* (administrative sector) *Ϛ[εξτιλίου Ἱέρακος]* (name of writer) *περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀλλοδαπῇ δ[ιατριβόντων* (summary).

The actual situation presupposed in i 14 ff. is this. The Idios Logos concerned itself among other things with property which fell in to the State. The community of Hagnu in the Metelite nome had failed to report some treasury property (i 19 f.). The antarchiereus Salvius Justus had written to the strategus on 21 May 164, but received no information (17–20). Next, the eclogistes of the nome wrote requiring that copies of the reports in local archives should be submitted for inspection (20 ff.). Presumably this letter too produced no results, for Dorion now writes the present letter on the same subject. Col. ii is too much damaged to follow the further progress of this wrangle.

Salvius Justus is new to the fasti; his office has been attested so far only by SB 9016.

Col. i

. . . .

→ .[ ]..
[ ]
[ ].μο
[ ]κιλιου
5 .[ἰδί]ου λόγου ἐπι-
τρο[πη c. 25 ἀπὸ Θὼθ ἕως Πα]χὼν δεκάτης
τοῦ ς (ἔτους) ..[c. 35]....ημερα
.μου...[c. 35]

ἰδίου λόγου (*vac.*)
10 Δωρίωνος ἐγλογιστρ[ῦ Μετηλεί]τ̣ου ἐμοὶ καὶ τῷ βασιλικ(ῷ)
γραμματεῖ γραφείς[ης c. 12]
περὶ τοῦ ἐπαναγκάσαι τὸν βιβλιοφύλακ[α π]αρενέγκαι προσφω-
νήσεις ἀνηκόντων τῶν ἀπὸ Ἄγνοῦ.
Δωρίων ἐγλογ[ι]στὴς Μετηλείτου Αἰλίῳ Διδύμῳ τῷ καὶ Σερήνῳ
15 στρατηγῷ καὶ Διοσκόρῳ τῷ καὶ Ἀνουβίωνι βασιλικῷ γρα(μματεῖ) τοῦ αὐτοῦ
νομοῦ τοῖς φιλτάτοις χαίρειν.
πρὸς τὰ γραφέντα [.].....ερ[..]..... στρατηγῷ τῷ δ (ἔτει) Ἀντωνίν(ου)
καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρατ[ό]ρ[ων] Παχὼν κς̄ ὑπὸ Σα-
λουίου Ἰούστου τοῦ ἀνταρ[χ]ιερέω[ς] π̣ερ[ὶ] τῶν ἀπὸ Ἄγνοῦ μὴ
20 σημανάντων τὰ τῷ ταμείῳ [δι]αφέρον[τ]α [οὐδ]ὲν ἐδηλώθη· ἐπεὶ δὲ
καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐπ[ι]σταλ[λέν]τα περὶ τοῦ τῶν οὐσῶν αὐτῶν
προσφωνήσεων ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ [τό]πων βιβλιοθήκῃ ἀπὸ ιε (ἔτους) Μεχεὶρ
ἕως κβ (ἔτους) Φαῶφι τὰ [ἀ]ντίγραφα μεταδοθῆναι προς....α
...[c. 10].ωτο.. παρατ̣ε[θ]ῆναι [..]δηλω.η.....
25 τα[
..[

. . . .

10 βασιλι^κ 15 γρ ς 17 αντωνιν.

Col. ii

. . . .

...[
.....[
....[
νομου[
5 ε...[
γεν.[
επις[
ρομ.[
νωντ.[
10 ενοι..[
το τοις.....[
ρισατεξητας.....[
τὰς παρ[ατε]θείσας ὑμ[ῖν
οὐδ' αὐτὰ[ς] μέχρι δευ[
15 επισταλ[...] ὑμῖν π.[
π....[....].η[.]π̣ο̣τ.[
ἐπεσταλκέναι τῷ το[
ρει ἵν' ἰδῇ καὶ τὰ ἴδια μ[έρη
γεγραφέναι ἵνα παν[
20 τοῦ νομοῦ πραγματικ[
τ]ὴν ἐξέτασιν ποιησαμ[
ἐπέστειλα ὑμῖν ἵνα[
λείας μεταδῶτε ..[
τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου τὴν ἐξ[
25 ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμ[ᾶς εὔχομαι
(ἔτους).. Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Οὐ[ήρου
τῆς ἐπὶ σ'το(λῆς) τὸ ἀντί[γραφον
μέρη ἀναπληρω.[
].....[

. . . .

ii 25 ερρωσ^θ ϋμ[27 επίτο^λ

Back, →

1 Αἰλίου Διδ]ύμου τοῦ καὶ Cε[ρή]νου cτρατηγή(cαντος) Μετηλ(είτου) [καὶ
β]α[cι]λ(ικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως) [[....]] τ̣ρ̣ῦ̣ α̣ὐ̣τ̣ρ̣ῦ̣ νομ(οῦ) .[*c.* 22
τῆς τοῦ ἰδίου λ(όγου) ἐπιτροπ(ῆς) τ̣ῷ̣ν̣ ἀπὸ Θὼθ ἕως Παχὼν (*vac.*) δεκάτης
τοῦ .(ἔτους) Ἀντων[ίνου καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων
3 αὐτοκρατόρων (*vac.*) .....ιδιρ[

Back 1 cτρατηγ^{η} μετη^{λ} β]α[^{λ}cι] γρ^{ζ} νδ 2 ιδιο$^{υ̃}$ επιτρδ

Col. i 9 ff. 'Idios Logos. (Letter) of Dorion, eclogistes of the Metelite, written to me and to the royal scribe. About pressing the bibliophylax to deliver reports of property belonging (to the treasury) from the inhabitants of Hagnu.

' "Dorion, eclogistes of the Metelite, to Aelius Didymus alias Serenus, strategus, and to Dioscorus alias Anubion, royal scribe, of the said nome, his very dear friends, greetings. In reply to the letter written to . . . strategus in the 4th year of Antoninus and Verus our lords the emperors, on the 26th of Pachon, by Salvius Justus the deputy high-priest, in the matter of the inhabitants of Hagnu, who had not signified property pertaining to the treasury—no information has been given. And since in reply to my own further instructions about the submission for examination of copies of the reports which exist . . in the local record office . . ."'

i 4]κιλ̣ιου: it looks like a proper name. Note that] *Cιλίου* is not a possible reading (L. Silius Satrianus, Idios Logos in 164 or 165).

6 f. The docket, *Back* 2–3, seems to repeat this, which suggests that the beginning of this column too is a general title for the collection which follows. The legible parts of the two passages supplement one another to give the date, Thoth (1) to Pachon 10, 29 Aug. 165 to 5 May 166.

7 ς (ἔτους) . .[: we expect imperial titles, as in 17 f.; the formula may end before the lacuna ends, or project beyond it (αὐτοκρατ]ό̣ρ̣ω̣ν̣ ημερα). ημερα is unexpected but unavoidable; the next word begins with a rounded letter (ε, ο, c). Rea suggests ἡμέρᾳ | Ἑ̣ρμοῦ̣, 'Wednesday'. In that case, a month and a numeral must precede: restore τοῦ ς (ἔτους) Ἀ̣ν̣[τωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρατόρων Πα]χ̣ὼ̣ν̣ η ἡμέρᾳ Ἑ̣ρμοῦ̣ (Πα]χὼν only *exempli gratia*; the traces are indecisive).

9–10 The eclogistae belong to the department of the Idios Logos: PRyl. 83. 18 note.

11 γραφείς[ης: if a supplement is necessary, τὸ ἀντίγραφον as in ii 27.

12–13 See on 20.

13 Ἄγνοῦ: the seat of a bishopric in Coptic times, but not otherwise known from sources of the Roman period: see Maspero–Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte* (1919) 5. It must have some connection with the Ἄγνου (Ἄγνοῦ?) κέρας, which projected into the sea east of the Rosetta mouth (Strabo 17. 1. 18). Here the town clearly lies in the Metelite nome. According to Gauthier (*Les Nomes* 144 ff.) this nome was between the Canopic and Rosetta mouths; our text shows that the nome extended east of the Rosetta mouth, or else that Hagnu lay west of it.

17 cτρατηγῷ: one expects 'to X your predecessor as strategus', but I cannot read πρὸ coῦ among the traces.

τῷ δ (ἔτει): 21 May 164: rather more than a year before the present letter.

18 f. Σαλουίου Ἰούcτου: not in Pflaum, *Carrières*. An account of grain from the granary of Sinary (to be published by Dr. John Shelton) mentions land (πρότερον) Σαλουίου Ἰούcτου (line 254); the account dates from the reign of Severus Alexander or less probably Gallienus.

19 ἀνταρ[χ]ιερέω[c: the office is attested only in SB 9016, of A.D. 160. The then holder, Ulpius Serenianus, had clearly moved on by 164. The office was no doubt that of permanent deputy to the High Priest, not of temporary substitute (διαδεχόμενος): Pflaum, *Carrières* 521 f. Serenianus climbed the hierarchy to become archiereus himself by A.D. 171. If Salvius Justus could be identified with

Salvius Julianus, archiereus in 185, we could suppose the same form of promotion; but Julianus and not Justus is read for certain in the later text (BGU 82).

20 τὰ τῷ ταμείῳ [δι]αφέρο[τ]α: so M. *Chr.* 91 ii 10. The same items are called ἀνήκοντα in 13. Reports were submitted by comogrammateis to their strategus: W. *Chr.* 172 (A.D. 196) δηλῶ μηδὲν cεcημάcθ(αι) μοι ἀνῆκον τῇ τοῦ ἰδίου λόγου ἐπιτροπῇ, similarly W. *Chr.* 72 and SPP xx 33 (priestly duties), PIand. 139. 24–7 (fallen trees). Cf. the monthly summaries, headed δι' ἀνηκόντων μηνὸς X, in PIand. 139. 12 and BGU 492. 3. The προcφωνήcεις mentioned in lines 12 and 22 must be reports of this kind. From our text it becomes clear that copies of these reports were lodged in the nome-archive (22); the keeper is to be made to produce them (12) for detailed vetting (23). The further stages of this vetting are illustrated by PIand. 139.

22 f. The years are presumably those of Pius: Mecheir 152 to Phaophi 158. The inquiry, conducted in 165/6, looks back a long way.

24 e.g.].ῳ τόπῳ παρατε[θ]ῆναι, [ἐ]δηλώθη ἐπιcτα...

26 The left margin is preserved for *c.* 2 cm. below this line. Its lower edge might, from its appearance, be the original edge of the sheet. But the docket, assuming the supplement in line 2 to be certain, shows that at least 8 cm. of papyrus are lost below.

ii 12 ἐξητασμένον [would fit traces and context. But I don't see how to articulate what precedes (e.g. κατεχω]ρίcατ'?).

14 μέχρι δὲ υ[or μέχρι δεῦ[ρο.

17 E.g. τῷ το[ῦ νομοῦ cτρατηγῷ.

18 For the formula (l. εἰδῇ) see 27 f., n.

19 ff. E.g. ἵνα πάν[τες - - - οἱ] τοῦ νομοῦ πραγματικ[οὶ - - - τ]ὴν ἐξέταcιν ποιηcάμ[ενοι - - -.

24 E.g. τὴν ἐξ[έταcιν.

26 Restore Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Οὐ̣[ήρου τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρατόρων, month, day: a line of approximately the same length as in col. i.

27 f. Cf. 18. The full formula PGiss. 48. 28–30: - - - ὑποτάξας ἐπιcτέλλω, φίλταροι, ἵν' εἰδῆτε καὶ ἕκαcτος τὰ ἴδια μέρη ἀναπληρώcῃ. Do these lines continue a covering note, in which the letter which precedes was quoted? Or are they a memorandum of the strategus?

Back 2 For the dates see on i 6 f.

3 At the end perhaps ἀπὸ τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ ἰδίρ̣[υ λόγου.

3027. Official Letter

20 3B.37/D (3) a 33×23·3 cm. A.D. 161–169

This letter is written across the fibres on the back of **3026**; the docket to **3026** occupies the left margin.

The letter is addressed to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, and delegates to him the decision in a law-case; the writer must be a higher official, perhaps the epistrategus. The procedure is familiar from documents which show it from the petitioner's side. Sarapion (line 2) will have delivered his petition to the epistrategus; one copy will be returned to him with the subscription μηδενὸς ἐπεχομένου ἔντυχε τῷ cτρατηγῷ· ἀπόδοc (see PTebt. 327 and 439); another copy, signed, goes to the relevant strategus, together with the covering letter **3027**.

3027 itself must be a copy or a draft (written on scrap paper, with a date which lacks the month and day). Probably it is a draft: this supposition explains the partial dating and the subscription (9–10). The letters on the other side are certainly copie

Both sides are of about the same date, though written by different hands; the connection between them may be that one and the same official had an interest in all the business involved.

The text gives a new context to the phrase *μηδενὸς ἐπεχομένου*, and perhaps throws some light on its meaning (5 note).

↓ *Α[c. 27 cτρ]ατηγῶι Ὀξυρυγχείτου χαίρειν·*
βιβ[λιδίων ἐπι]δοθέντων [μ]οι ὑ[πὸ] Cαραπίωνος Τερεντίου γραμματέως
πράκτορος τ[ὸ] ἕτερον cημιωcάμενος ἔπεμψά coι, ὅπως διαγνοῦ[c
μετοξὺ αὐτοῦ κα[ὶ ο]ὗ αἰτιᾶται ἑτέρου πράκτορος τὰ προcήκοντα
5 *ἀποφήνῃ, μηδ̣εν[ὸ]ς ἐπ̣εχ[ο]μένου τῶν πράccεcθαι ὀφειλόντων.*
ἐρρῶcθ(αί) cε εὔχο(μαι). (ἔτους) . Αὐτοκράτορος Καίcαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου
Cεβαcτοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μ[ηδ]ι̣[κ]οῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίcτου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίcαρος Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐ[ήρ]ου Cεβα[cτ]οῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίcτου
space of c. 12 cm.
(*m.*2) *δὸc υπ[c. 40]*
10 *...[c. 40].τ̣εως cεcη(μείωμαι)*

6 ερρωcθ ευχō 10 cεcῆ

'. . ., strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, greetings. Petitions have been submitted to me by Sarapion, son of Terentius, practor's secretary. Of these I have signed one and sent it to you, so that you can decide between him and the other practor whom he accuses, and return the proper verdict; no matter which needs to be considered is reserved from your jurisdiction (?). Year 7 (?) of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Maximus and Imperator Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Maximus.

(2nd hd.) Give to the assistant (?) . . . I have signed (?) . . .'

1 The lacuna might contain (*a*) the name of the writer only; (*b*) the name of the strategus only; (*c*) the names of both. (*c*) is the most natural; (*b*) would characterize an unfinished draft; (*a*) is quite possible, as W. *Chr.* 28 shows. The limiting factors are the initial *α*; and the date or possible dates of the document (see 6 note). Within the relevant period, the writer (who is presumably of higher rank than the strategus) might be the prefect (M.) Annius Syriacus (161/2–2. Mar. 164, see BGU 2058. 13), or the epistrategus Aquilius Capitolinus (**2563** 1); the only known Oxyrhynchite strategus is Clau. Demetrius *alias* Hermias (166–7).

5 The parallel phrases are as follows:

μηδενὸς ἐπεχομένου ἔντυχε τῷ cτρατηγῷ· ἀπόδοc or sim.; PTebt. 327 and 439, SB 9340;
μηδενὸς ἐπεχομένου alone: **488**, PStrass. 57 (corrected by Martin, *Archiv* 6. 217);
μηδε[νὸ]c ἐ̣πεχρμ[έν]ρ[υ ὁ κρά(τιcτος) ἐπιcτρά(τηγος) εἴ]c̣c̣τ̣α̣ι̣ [ὁποί]α [...].[..] ἑcτιν ἡ ἀξίωcιc **2131** 19 (amended from POslo III 81. 6).

In all these the formula constitutes the subscription of a petition; and in all the case is certainly or probably being referred from a higher official to a lower one. Hunt (**2131** 19) translates 'without prejudice to anything . . .'; LSJ *ἐπέχω* IV c 'no objection being taken'; the *WB* takes the verb as middle, 'Einspruch erheben' (and *μηδενός* must then be personal). Our text is unique in adding *τῶν πράccεcθαι ὀφειλόντων*, which does at least make it clear that *μηδενός* is neuter. I guess that the meaning is 'no necessary procedure being reserved', i.e. that the investigation and decision is put entirely in the hands of the strategus. But *ἐπέχειν* has many ambiguities.

6 (*ἔτους*) . : the year-sign is clear; just after the vertical a long high oblique, descending gently to where the papyrus breaks off; then traces of ink below the gap. Of the numerals possible within this nine-year reign, *α*, *δ*, and *ζ* might suit the traces: 161, 163/4, 166/7. It could be argued that all but the last is excluded, because the recto text mentions the 4th year of the same emperors (163/4) and a 6th year probably of the same reign (165/6) (**3026** i 17, i 7). But even if we allow that **3027** was copied later than **3026**, there is no proving that the originals were copied in their chronological order. The question remains open.

9 Perhaps *δὸc ὑπ[ηρέτῃ*.

10 Perhaps *διὰ* X *γραμμ]ατέως*.

3028. Official Correspondence

23 3B.13/E (3) a 15·5 × 34 cm. Earlier 3rd century

Remains of one column of writing, preserved to full height. The papyrus was cut down, and the back reused for **3048**; consequently we have only part of what must originally have been very long lines. The main text is written in a handsome third-century cursive. A scribble in the upper margin probably refers to the proclamation on the back (**3048** introd.).

The text is a letter or petition. It is addressed to a *μεγαλειότης* (6), probably the prefect. Its date depends on three indications: (1) **3048** on the back dates from A.D. 247; (2) Herennianus (10) is likely to be the iuridicus and acting prefect of 225; (3) accordingly the 12th year mentioned in l. 19 is likely to be 12 Alexander Severus, A.D. 232/3, rather than 12 Septimius Severus, A.D. 203/4; 12 Gallienus can be excluded under (1). **3028** therefore belongs between 232/3 and 247.

The writer was apparently responsible for the collection of taxes in wheat; he claims to have been very diligent (15–18), but strictly legitimate in his methods (23); others blamed him (2) as reckless and unjust (5, 7). Arrears are still owing, and he reserves the right to complete collection (25–6). It might be inferred that the writer is a *πράκτωρ cιτικῶν*. The details of the affair remain obscure. But three points are of some interest: the Oxyrhynchites bewailing their ruin (8); the sending of troops (12), presumably to help in the collection; and the reference to threshing floors (13), which might mean that the harvest was kept at the floor until the government had taken its due—a practice attested for Ptolemaic Egypt, but not evidenced in Roman Egypt before **1255** of A.D. 292.

→ *] κ̣ύριέ μου τῇ δ[ʹ] τοῦ Χοιὰκ μηνὸς δι' ὧν ηθ.[*
]ει cου προcενεχθεῖcαν κατὰ τῆς ἀπαιτήcεω[c
]ετι καὶ δηλώcαc ἃ ἔγραψαc αὐτοῖc ἐν οἷc ..α̣τ̣ο..[
]υc ἑλέcθαι τοὺc καταcτηcομένουc ἐπὶ τουcου[

5].μοι ἁρμόcαcθαι τῇ ἀπαιτήcε[ι] ὡc μὴ δικαια[
μεγ]αλειότητί cου δηλῶcαι προήχθην πᾶν τὸ εν.[
].ντων ἔργων ὡc οὔ τε' προπετῶc ἐπὶ ταύτᾳ [
].cιν ὀδυρόμενοι ἀνάcταcιν 'Οξυρυγχειτα.[
ἐλ]πίδοc ἀποκοπείcης τῆc εἰc τὸ μέλ[λ]ον καὶ πρὶν ηλαμπ[
10]ω Ἑρεννιανῷ ὡc αὐτόc φηcιν δι' ὧν ἐπεcτειλ[
]τατω ταμείῳ ὡc ἂν ἐπίτροποc 'τῇ' ἀπαιτήcει .π..[
cτρατι]ώτας διδοὺc καὶ δεκαδάρχαc π[έ]μπων καὶ αυτο.[
]α πρότερον ἀπὸ τῶν ἁλωνιῶν ἵν' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τω[
].ναι τὸν ἴδιον κανόνα καὶ εἰ μὴ [ἡ]ν φορτικὸν κα[
15]cαc μοι ἐπιcτολὰc ἴcως δι.[.].ην ἐπαγρυπν[
ἐ]γγράφωc μὲν ἐνετελλόμη[ν ἀ]πειλῶν δε ου.[
] ἐνεκείμην ἀλλὰ διαφερέτω [τ]αῦτα προc[
]α αὐτὰ διετέλουν λαβὼν δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον τὰ τοῦ κρατί[cτου
] ὁλοκλήρουc τοὺc ceιτικοὺc φόρουc τοῦ ιβ (ἔτουc) ἀπαιτ[
20] βουλευτὰc ὑπόcχεcιν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ποιήcαcθαι .[
τ]οῖc γενομένοιc ὑπομνήμαcιν ἃ καὶ ὑπέταξεν [
γ]ραφέντα μοι ἐν οἷc ἦν καὶ τὰ αὐτῷ ἐπιcταλέντα [
]α ὡc ἐγὼ μὲν ὁδῷ νομμωτάτῃ τῆc ἀπαι[τήcεωc
] ἐτίθεντο τὰ κελευόμενα αὐτίκα μάλα τῆc μη[
25]ων ὀφειλομένων τῷ ταμείῳ μετὰ ταῦτά μου [
] ἐμοῦ κυρίου περὶ τοῦ ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου τὴν ἀπαίτη[cιν

16 ε]ν'γραφωc

1 ηθ.[: the scribe has a tendency to divide his words; and here θ is slightly spaced from η. Therefore e.g. ἡ θε[ία πρόνοια rather than e.g. ἤθε[λε.
2 E.g. ἀξίωcιν τῇ τάξ]ει (or τῷ μεγέθ]ει) cου προcενεχθεῖcαν.
3 ..ατο..[: perhaps κ[[.]]ατον[ο]μ[-.
4 τουcου[: again, the scribe has left a space, which suggests τοῦ cου[rather than τοὺc ου[.
6 μεγ]αλειότητι: applied to emperors, prefects, and catholici. Here presumably the prefect, since the office of catholicus was not created until *c.* 245 (*JRS* 57 (1967) 138).
9 λαμπ[: π is almost certain (not β). πρὶν ἢ λαμπ[? πρὶν ἡ λαμπ[?
10 Ἑρεννιανῷ: **3076** introduction.
11 E.g. τῷ ἱερω]τάτῳ ταμείῳ. After ἀπαιτήcει, ἀπό corrected to ἐπί or ἐπί corrected to ἀπό; then most probably π or τ.
15 E.g. πεμφθεί]cαc.
δι.[.].ην: the trace after δι excludes διὰ τ̄ήν; and δὲ τ̄ήν looks short for the space. Perhaps διηλ̄ῆν ἐπαγρυπν[ίαν, though the trace is rather long and flat for λ.
19 ιβ (ἔτουc): if β is right, it was written in the open-topped cursive form; the upper parts of the verticals are preserved, with (apparently) blank papyrus above (therefore not ε or θ) and at line-level (therefore not α).

24 Again, a space before ἐτίθεντο.
26 E.g. μένοντοc] ἐμοῦ κυρίου.

3029. Letter to Strategi

8 1B.190/G (a) 8·8 × 14 cm. Valerian

This letter is preserved to full height; but a large part, perhaps two-thirds, of each line is lost. The back of the sheet has been reused for an account of wine. The handsome upright hand has affinities with the Chancery type.

The letter is addressed to the strategi of three or more specified nomes. The writer (perhaps the prefect) gives them instructions which involve an *opiniator*. The outline situation can be reconstructed from several letters in PBeattyPanop. 2. The *opiniator* is sent to collect money for the issue of military pay and donatives. Here some payment is due for Mesore (3); and there is perhaps to be a donative for some festival in honour of a Valerian (5–6).[1] The document makes it clear that neither the *opiniator* nor his missions was an innovation of Diocletian.

→]χ̄ρ̄
c]τρατηγοῖς τῶν ὑπογεγρ(αμμένων) ν[ομῶν
].νων ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μεcορὴ μ[ηνὸc
]ενti ἑκατοντάρχῳ οπιν[
5 τ]ῆc εὐτυχεcτάτηc ἡμέραc [
] Οὐαλεριανοῦ τοῦ πρεcβυτέ[ρου
(m.2) ἐρρῶcθαι ὑμ]ᾶc εὔχομαι
(m.1)]ιτου Κυνοπολίτου ἄνω

2 υπογεγρ§

1 Presumably](ἑκατονταρχ). This cannot be the addressee: only one centurion is involved (4), but the greeting (7) is to a plurality. The strategi, then, are the addressees: for the form, with the list of nomes at the end, cf. e.g. PBeattyPanop. 2. 32 ff. Line 1 will have contained the name of the centurion who carried this letter of authorization with him.
To the right is an isolated trace, most like the lower part of a small *chi*.
3 E.g. τῶν ὀφειλομ]ένων.
4 E.g. τῷ ἀποcταλ]έντι ἑκατοντάρχῳ ὀπιν[ιάτορι. On the *opiniator* see PBeattyPanop. 2. 41 note.
5 ἡμέραc: donatives for the birthday and *dies imperii* of Diocletian, PBeattyPanop. 2. 162 etc.; for the third consulship of Constantius and Maximian 2. 267.
6 τοῦ πρεcβυτέ[ρου: 'the elder' (as distinct from his grandson)? or 'the senior Augustus' (as distinct from Gallienus)? For the second cf. PBeattyPanop. 2. 163 etc. Alternatively, the reference might be to the younger Valerian, as elder son of Gallienus. The word does not occur in any of the titulatures of the Valeriani collected by Bureth, *Titulatures impériales*.
8]ίτου: perhaps 'Οξυρυγχ]ίτου, since it lies immediately to the North of the Upper Cynopolite. There will have been at least one more nome before this (the Heracleopolite?), since the initial lacuna must be long enough to contain the name and title of the writer in line 2.

[1] Dr. Rea refers to **1185** 29 for a βαcιλέωc ἑορτή of the same reign (on the date of Magnius Felix, see *BASP* 4 (1967) 120).

3030. Official Letter of Royal Scribe

Plate IX

26 3B.51/B (3–4) b — 12 × 18 cm. — 31 March 207 (?)

This piece comes from a *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος*; a strip with line-ends from another document still adheres to the left. On the back is the address and (perhaps) a docket. The content is clear in outline (here I am especially indebted to Dr. Rea). Some tax has been collected over a four-year period. With the end of the period, each royal scribe has to document the tax-transactions which concern his own tax-payers, whether carried on in his own nome or in another. In **3030**, therefore, a royal scribe writes to his colleague in the Themistes division of the Arsinoite, and asks to be notified of relevant transactions in that nome; he adds the assurance that he himself has done and will do his duty by his colleagues in the same way. Further understanding depends on the tax involved. I suggest that the tax was the *ἀριθμητικὸν κατοίκων*; and that the *οἰκονομίαι* (6) were transfers of catoecic land, reported to each royal scribe by his *βιβλιοφύλαξ ἐγκτήσεων* (10). See 3 n.

The hand has considerable palaeographic interest. It is basically a literary hand; only the cursive *κ* and the occasional ligatured groups (12 and 14 *δε*, 14 *-με*) lower the tone. Characteristic letter-forms are *μ* in three movements, *c* in two, *φ* diamond-shaped. Uprights are thickly ornamented with serifs and back-hooks. The general effect is much like that of **2555**, of the late first century. It is salutary to have, precisely dated, so late an example of this fragile decorated style.

(*m.*[6]) [. . . . . *Π*]*αῦνι ιβ*̄

→ (*m.*[1]) *Ἀμ*]*μώνιος βασιλ*(*ικὸς*) *γρ*. . . . . *εως* . . . . . [. .
βασιλ(*ικῷ*) *γρα*(*μματεῖ*) (*m.*[2]) *Ἀρς*(*ινοίτου*) *Θεμίστ*(*ου*) *μερίδ*(*ος*)
(*m.*[1]) *τῷ* [*φιλ*(*τάτῳ*) *χα*(*ίρειν*).
τ̣[*ο*]*ῦ διὰ τετραετηρίδος πρασσομένου αριθμ*[. .].[.
τ̣[*ε*]*λέσματος λήξαντος κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐτῶν*
5 *πε*]*ρίοδον εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς ἔτος ἐπιστέλλω σοι,*
φίλτατε, ιν . . . *ς τελιωθείσας παρὰ σοὶ οἰκον*[*ο-*
μίας . .]. .[. .].[.]*ς τούτου ἀνηκούσας τῷ*[[*ν*]]*δε τῷ*
νομῷ . . . .]. .*μοι δηλώσῃς πρὸς τὸ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τὰ*
ἀκόλουθα γενέσθαι· ὅσαι μέντοι ἐσημάνθησαν
10 *ἐνταῦθα* [. . . *βι*]*βλιοφύλακος ἐγκτήσεων*
ἀνήκουσαι [*ἑτ*]*έροις νομοῖς μέχρι τούτου, αὗται*
φανεραὶ ἐγ[*έ*]*γοντο οἷς διέφερον· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ νῦν*
μεταδοθῶ[*σιν ἀ*]*νήκουσαι τῷ ὑπ*[*ὸ σοὶ ν*]*ομῷ,*

φανεραί σ[*οι γ*]*ενήσονται· εἰ δὲ μή, εἴσθι ἀρκούμε-*
15 *νόν με* [*τῷδε τῷ ἐ*]*πιστάλματι.* (*m.*[3]) *ἐρρῶ-*
σθαί [*σε ε*]*ὔχ*[*ο*]*μαι, φίλτ*(*ατε*).

(*m.*[4]) (*ἔτους*) *ιε*̣*′ Α*[*ὐτοκρατ*]*όρων Καισάρων Λουκίου Σεπτ*[*ι*]*μίου*
Σεουήρ[*ου Εὐ*]*σεβοῦς Περτίνακος Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ*
Παρθικοῦ Μ[*εγίς*]*του καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίν*[*ο*]*υ*
20 *Εὐσεβοῦ*[*ς Σε*]*βα*̣[*σ*]*τῶν Φ*̣[*α*]*ρ*[*μ*]*οῦθι ε*̄.

(*m.*[5]) *δι*̣*′* . . . . . *αρυπ′ Παχὼ*(*ν*) *κ*̄
Back, → *βασιλ*(*ικῷ*) *γρα*(*μματεῖ*) *Θεμ*(*ίστου*) *μερίδ*(*ος*)
↓]. . . . *οσβ*. . ̄

1 *βασ*̣̄ 2 *βασ*̣̄ *γραζ* *αρ*^*σ* *θεμιστ*^*ου* *μερι*^*δ* 4 *-ματος*: *ο* corr. from *ε*, crossed out, small *ο* suprascript 8 *ὑπ* 10 *εγ'κτ-* 21 *παχ*̣̄

'(6th hd.) . . . Pauni 12.

Ammonius, royal scribe . . . to (. . .?) the royal scribe of the (2nd hd.) Arsinoite, Themistes division, (1st hd.) his very dear friend, greetings. Since the . . . tax which is exacted over a period of four years has lapsed with the term of years in the present year, I am writing to you, friend, so that you may indicate to me the documents transacted in your office up to the present relevant to this nome, with a view to my carrying out the consequent procedure. Such as have been made known here by (?) the *bibliophylax enkteseon* relating to other nomes up to the present, these have been reported to those whom they concerned; and if any relating to the nome in your charge are handed in even at this late stage, they will be reported to you. Otherwise, be informed that this missive suffices me. (3rd hd.) I pray for your health, my very dear friend. (4th hd.) Year 15 (?) of Imperatores Caesares Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augusti, Pharmouthi 5.

(5th hd.) . . . Pachon 20

(*Back*) To the royal scribe of the Themistes division . . .'

1 The reconstruction of this line must begin from the word after *βασιλ*(*ικ*). Clearly it was some writing of *γραμματεύς*. We might consider (*a*) *γρα*[*ζ*] . . . . *εως*; (*b*) *γραμζ* . . *εως*; (*c*) *γραμματεως*. The difficulty with (*a*) and (*b*) is, that no nome will fit the traces which follow. There is nothing to suggest *-εἴτου*; no trace lies so high as to suggest an abbreviated form. The spacing points to a word-end after *-εως*. But *'Οάσεως* will not do, since the letter before *εως* is almost certainly *τ* (the cross-bar, and the top of the vertical); and *γρα*[*ζ*] *μαστεως* (or *β-* or *κ-*), or *γραμζ* . *τεως*, lead nowhere. I therefore suggest (*c*), for want of anything better. Against it at least two objections: the genitive must be assumed to be a mistake; the double *μ* is cramped, and *α* following has an anomalous shape with a curved linking stroke at the top. If it is right, we expect a nome-name to follow. The next trace strongly suggests *η* or *ι*; it would be possible to read *Ἡ*̣[*ρ*]*ακλ*(*είδου*) [*μερ*(*ίδος*] or *Ἡ*̣[*ρ*]*ακλ*[*εοπολ*(*ίτου*).

2 The Themistes and Polemo divisions were united under a single strategus as early as A.D. 138. Each had its own royal scribe: last attested for the Polemo division in 208, for the Themistes in 207 (the present document).

The first hand left a blank between *γρα*(*μματεῖ*) and *τῷ* [*φιλ*(*τάτῳ*); a second hand added the nome. This suggests a circular letter in several copies, each for a different addressee; and makes it unlikely that the personal name of the addressee stood in line 1.

3 One relevant factor is missing: the name of the tax. The final trace in *αριθμ*[. .].[. is too small to

be determining. For the sense I have considered two possibilities. (*a*) *ἀριθμ[ῶ]ν*: a tax for military units. I find no parallel to the expression. (*b*) *ἀριθμ[ητ]ικ[οῦ*: a known tax, though expressed in unparalleled form (elsewhere *ἀριθμητικόν* or the plural without *τέλεσμα*). Against this: either the word was abbreviated (no other abbreviations in the work of the first hand), or the line was exceptionally long.

Otherwise, there are considerable advantages in identifying the tax as *ἀριθμητικὸν κατοίκων*. It was owners of catoecic land who paid this tax. They might pay tax in their own nome, and hold land in another (cf. SB 4415); transfers of such land would be authorized by the *βιβλιοφύλαξ ἐγκτήσεων*; and the royal scribe kept the list of owners up-to-date (SB 4415). We could assume that the royal scribe of **3030** wishes to establish whether any inhabitants of his nome have made themselves liable to tax by acquiring catoecic land; any such acquisition within his own nome is notified through the *βιβλιοφύλαξ*, but for land in other nomes he must appeal to their royal scribes.

We can explain *διὰ τετραετηρίδος* on the same supposition. It has been deduced from BGU I 342 that *ἀριθμητικὸν κατοίκων* was levied every fourth year (Wallace, *Taxation* 179): the document is a double receipt, which records payments in 180/1 for 179/80, and in 184/5 for [183/4?]. The deduction can be extended and confirmed. If we list receipts under the year for which payment was due ('tax-year'), as opposed to the year in which payment was made ('payment-year'), we have: 104/5 PFay. 330; 131/2 PTebt. 361; 159/60 SB 8982; 163/4 SPP xxii 135; 171/2 PFamTebt. 39, PMich. IV passim; 179/80 BGU 342, BGU 816; 183/4 [BGU 342]. On the assumption that tax-year is almost always the same as payment-year, we can add: 191/2 SPP xxii 111–13, 144; 195/6 PLond. ii p. 109, 451. All these dates conform exactly to a four-year cycle 131/2, 135/6, 139/40, etc. The only exception is the earliest, PFay. 330, if correctly read: i.e. the beginning of the cycle postdates 104/5. SB 8056, for a year 11, may be assigned to 107/8 or 147/8.

This cycle coincides with that deducible from payments of *γεωμετρία* in PMich. IV (see PCol. V p. 275, **2847** 16 n.); and with the fiscal *lustrum* of PMarmarica, on either possible interpretation (Rea, *Parola del Passato* 112 (1967) 52). PMarm. uses the term *πενταετία*. *διὰ τετραετηρίδος* in **3030** presumably refers to the same duration in a different aspect. Does it mean 'every fourth year'? or 'over a period of four years' (i.e. like the *γεωμετρία* this tax could be paid in instalments up to the year of the next assessment)?

On this scheme, 207/8 would be a tax-year. **3030** was written half-way through 206/7, the year in which the previous cycle terminated (4 *λήξαντος*). The object was presumably to tidy accounts and determine arrears for the tax-year 203/4, before the new assessment.

6 *ιν...ς*: we expect *ἵνα τὰς*. *α* before *ς* is quite possible; but *τ* is excluded, indeed the ink strongly suggests *χ*. Dr. Rea suggests *ἵν' [ἃς] ἔχε[ι]ς*. This gives admirable sense, and suits the traces; but there is not space for [ἃς].

8 Perhaps] *ἐμοί*; or e.g. *ταχέω]ς μοι*.

10 Restore [*ὑπὸ* or [*διὰ*?

14 f. *ἀρκούμενον*: the phrase *ἀρκουμένου μου τῇδε τῇ διαστολῇ* is common enough at the end of petitions (most recently PMilVogl. III 170. 15, 180. 30). In W. *Chr.* 402 Aur. Hermophilus replies to a liturgical assignment (*ἐπίταλμα*) from the prytanis with a formal refusal (*ἀντεπιστέλλω*) and an offer of *cessio bonorum*: *ἀρκεσθήσομαι γὰρ τῷδε τῷ ἀντεπιστάλματι ἐν μεγίστῳ δικαιώματι* (col. i 19 f.). The point is the same in all cases: the present document, that is, suffices in itself to assert the subject's full rights in the situation. So in **3030** Ammonius' letter is his last word, unless further information comes to hand.

16 The restoration seems inevitable, though the lacuna after *ἐρρῶσθαι* is enough for at least six letters.

17 (*ἔτους*) *ιε'*: of *ε* the back and most of the cross-bar are missing. *θ* might have been considered; but the expected remains of its right-hand arc are not to be seen.

21 *Παχὼ(ν) κ'*: the main text is dated 31 March (20); this subscription belongs to 15 May; 6 June appears in the further note in the top margin. You might expect 21 to be a record of delivery. But if so the letter took a month and a half to arrive. In any case I cannot reach a satisfactory reading of the rest of the line. *δι(ὰ) [ἐ]μοῦ .....ρ ὑπ(ηρέτου)* would suit the ink; what intervenes should be an (abbreviated?) proper name. But *αρ* shows no normal mark of abbreviation.

23 *β..¯.*: *βγρ¯* is a possible reading. Perhaps then *Ἄμμ]ωνιος β(ασιλικὸς) γρ(αμματεύς)*.

3031. Official Letter of *Procurator Alexandreae*

29 4B.46/G (1–3) a — 20·3 × 13·5 cm. — *c.* A.D. 302

Aurelius Ammonius, the writer of this letter, is otherwise unknown. His title, *procurator Alexandreae*, has appeared in three earlier inscriptions (Pflaum, *Carrières* 1088 f.); none of these gives any clue to the duties of the office, if indeed an established office with defined duties is involved.

The addressee, Annius Diogenes, has occurred in other documents: (1) W. *Chr.* 186 and SB 4421. 6 (date lost): comarchs of Caranis acknowledge official payment for tunics provided by them (as a military requisition, cf. e.g. PCairoIsid. 54); payment was made under orders of the *διασημότατος ἐπίτροπος* Ann. Diogenes. (2) PSI 1125 (A.D. 302): a series of letters from Ann. Diogenes (without title) to the strategus of the Arsinoite, concerning the supply and dispatch of something; soldiers and centurions appear as emissaries. PSI 1125 shows that Diogenes held some office in 302; this accords with an unpublished text (inv. 39 5B.120/M (1–2) a), in which he appears alongside the *rationalis* Pomponius Domnus (A.D. 299–300). W. *Chr.* 186 and **3031** may belong to the same years. (MacMullen, *Aeg.* 38 (1958) 187 n. 1 and 196, dated W. *Chr.* 186 to *c.* 285–90; but the argument from price-trends is always treacherous.)

3031 states Diogenes' full title for the first time (and confirms a conjecture of Skeat, PBeattyPanop. p. xvi): *procurator Heptanomiae*. The post was known from **2114** (A.D. 316), where the subject is military supplies. Diogenes similarly deals with military requisitions in W. *Chr.* 186 and PSI 1125; with a corn-transport (perhaps then with *annona militaris*) in **3031**. This evidence does not support (or exclude) the view that this procurator functioned as successor of the epistrategus (Skeat pp. xvi f. points out other difficulties). His duties might be limited (say) to overseeing military supplies in the Heptanomia.

The *procurator Alexandreae* dispatched the corn-transport to his colleague, and presumably took charge of the corn when it arrived. Was his office the same as that of the *procurator ad Mercurium Alexandreae*, who certainly dealt in grain to some degree (**2567** 9 n.)?

The back is blank, except for the address.

→ *Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος ἐπίτροπος Ἀλεξανδρείας*
Ἀννίῳ Διογένει ἐπιτρόπῳ Ἑπτανομίας χαίρειν.
πλοῖον σκαφόπρῳρον Διδύμου ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀξυ-
ρυγχείτου οὐ κυβερνήτης Κάνωπος ἀγω-
5 *γῆς ἀρτ]αβῶν [ἐ]ξακο[σί]ων ἀ[πέστ]ειλα πρός σε*
]υρ..[*]..θηναι*
].αι.[*]..ην*

(m.²) ἐρ]ῤῶς̣θαι ε̣ὔχ̣(ομαι) κύριέ μου
ἄδελ]φε π̣ο̣λ̣λο̣ῖς χρό̣νοις
10].[

. . . .

Back, →
Ἀννίῳ Διογ[ένει

'Aurelius Ammonius, Procurator of Alexandria, to Annius Diogenes, Procurator of the Heptanomia, greetings. I have sent off to you a hollow-prowed (?) boat, (property) of Didymus, from the Oxyrhynchite, captain Canopus, capacity six hundred artabas . . . I pray for your health, my lord brother, for many years.'

6]..θηναι: perhaps]α̣χθηναι.

3032. Publication of Official Letters

A. B.32/A (6) 16×17·5 cm. A.D. 218/19 or 222/3

This fragment contains the beginning of a covering note, in which the strategus Aurelius Harpocration introduces letters from two higher officials. Copies of the letters will have been attached. Taubenschlag, *OM* ii 125 ff., discusses this function of the strategus. PHarris 62 takes the same form.

The hand is a large and careful one of chancery type; the general effect is much like that of **2227** (*Aegyptus* 45 (1965) pl. 5), but without the tall bipartite *epsilon*. The back is blank.

There is one point of interest: the procurator πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεσι, for whom see **3046** introduction.

α
→ παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἁρποκρατίωνος
στρατηγο[ῦ] Ὀξυρυγχείτου.
ἀ]ντίγραφον ἐπι[σ]τολῶν τῶν
κρατίστων τοῦ τε διοικητοῦ
5 καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεσι
τῶν ἀ̣π̣ὸ Τῦβι α̣ ἕως
Φαρμο[ῦθι . . .] τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
β (ἔτους) τ̣[οῦ] κ̣υρίου ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτο-
ρος c. 15]...[..

. . . .

2 οξυρυγ'χ-

'From Aurelius Harpocration, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite. A copy of letters from their excellencies the dioeceteses and the procurator for surveys, from Tybi 1 to Pharmouthi [30] of the present 2nd year of our lord the emperor . . .'

Upper margin. α: a column number? α/ would mean ἀ(ντίγραφον), but I see no trace of the abbreviation stroke (admittedly, the surface is much damaged).

6 f. Perhaps the four months Tybi 1 to Pharmouthi 30 (the second third of the regnal year).

8 β (ἔτους): the reading is almost certain (the upper part of an open-topped cursive beta). The choice of emperor depends on the dating of the strategus Aur. Harpocration. He is already in office in **1283**, of 25 June/28 Aug. 219; still in office in **2348** 52, of 12 Sept. 224. There is no reason to think that his term was interrupted (Mertens, *CdÉ* 31 (1956) 351). The nearest predecessor is]ος (*Archiv* 7. 223); the composite document in whose heading he appears contains dates of 218 and of 2 Jan. 219. The nearest successor is Aur. Antyllus, attested for 13 June 225 (**2566** ii 1: the restoration Ἀγ[ρύλ]λῳ, and the dating, are now guaranteed by **XLIII 3103** of April/May 226. Within these limits two dates are possible for our document: 2 Elagabalus, A.D. 218/19; or 2 Alex. Severus, 222/3. The tiny traces in line 9 do not allow a decision.

3033. Petition to Prefect

27 3B.43/B (1–2) b 13·5×12 cm. c. 45/7

This petition is probably a draft, to judge from the interlinear additions in lines 4 and 9 f. The back has been reused for various pieces of writing. Along the fibres, in large formal letters: *ΠΤΟΛΛΙΩΝΟϹ*. Across the fibres are two texts in parallel columns, and a third upside-down in relation to them. The best-preserved appears to be an unfinished petition or application:] . . . . ῳι ² παρὰ Θέωνο(ς) τοῦ ³ Πτολλίω(νος)· ὁ υἱός μου ⁴ Πτολλίω(ν) ἀφήλικος ποιμ(ενικῆς?) *vac.*

Thaesis addresses her petition to the prefect C. Julius Postumus. She alleges that she and her elder son are being forced into slavery, and refers to an earlier petition made to the ex-prefect Marcus Heius.

Heius is new. His prefecture fits conveniently between those of L. Aemilius Rectus (last attested on 29 April 42) and of Julius Postumus himself (first attested on 8 August 45). The name was made available to Prof. Reinmuth for his new list of prefects, *BASP* 4 (1967) 80.

The transcript omits lines 8–10, of which only the first few letters are legible; and a joining fragment with nine further line-beginnings.

→ Γαΐωι Ἰουλίωι Ποστόμωι [
παρὰ Θαήσιος τῆς Ὥρου τῶν ἀπὸ τῆ̣[ς
Μικρᾶς Ὀάσεως. ἀγομένης μου σὺν τῶι [πρεσ-
βυτέρῳ μου υἱῶι Φιλαδέλφωι εἰς δουλαγωγίαν ὑπὸ .[. . . .
5 τοῦ Σεύθου κ̣α̣ὶ̣ τ̣ῶν τούτου ἀδελφῶν ἐ̣[νέτυ-
χον Μάρκωι Εἴωι τῷ ἡγεμονεύ̣[σαντι
ἐπὶ διαλογισμοῦ τοῦ νομοῦ . . . . . .[. . . .

. . . . . .

'To Gaius Julius Postumus, from Thaesis daughter of Horus, one of the inhabitants of the Little Oasis. I was being led away into slavery, I and my elder son Philadelphus, by . . . son of Scuthes and his brothers. So I petitioned Marcus Heius the former prefect at the nome-assizes . . .'

4 *εἰς δουλαγωγίαν*: cf. **38** 10, where the phrase is certainly literal and not rhetorical. The action involves only the elder son, which suggests that the *status libertatis* of the whole family was not in question. Perhaps mother and son had defaulted on a debt: though enslavement for insolvency is very ill attested in Greco-Egyptian law, see Taubenschlag, *OM* ii 231 f.

6 *Εἴωι*: for the name, see Reinmuth l.c. It appears elsewhere in Greek, but in the spelling *Ἥιος* (L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2. 10 f.; *BCH* 82 (1958) 562).

3034. Sworn Declaration

Plate XI

22 3B.14/F (7–8) b — 7×21 cm. — 5 April 148

Only the foot of this document survives: oath, date, subscriptions. The back is blank. The subscription comprises signatures of the exegete or ex-exegete, and the gymnasiarch or ex-gymnasiarch; line 2 locates property or persons in the Cretan quarter. It seems likely that the subject was the epicrisis of a privileged metropolite. Declarations of this kind are listed by Wallace, *Taxation* 403–5, and by Bingen, *CdÉ* 31 (1956) 116–17.

The interest of the piece is palaeographic. The first hand is small and sloping; *β* and *κ* have the cursive shape, but there are few ligatures; the most distinctive letter is *ε*, narrow and with a projecting tongue. The general effect is of a literary script; Roberts, *GLH* 15b, of similar date, makes a companion piece.

. . . . .

→]..[
ἀ]μφόδου Κρητικ(οῦ) καὶ
ὀ]μνύω Αὐτοκράτορα
Κα]ίσαρα Τίτον Αἴλιον
5 Ἁ]δριανὸν Ἀντωνεῖνον
C]εβαστὸν Εὐcεβῆ ἀλη-
θῆ] εἶναι τὰ προγεγραμ-
μ]ένα. (ἔτους) ια Αὐτοκράτορος
Κ]α[ί]caρος Τίτου Αἰλίου
10 Ἁδριανοῦ Ἀν[τ]ωνείνου
Cεβαcτοῦ Εὐcεβοῦc
Φαρμοῦθι ῖ. (*m.*²) Διονυc( )
ἐξηγ( ) cεcημ(είωμαι). (*m.*³) Αἴλ(ιος) Διογ( )
γυμνα( ) cεcη(μείωμαι).

'. . . Cretan quarter; and I swear by Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius that the foregoing is true. Year 11 of Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pharmouthi 10. (2nd hand) I, Dionys( ), exegetes (or former exegetes) have signed. (3rd hand) I, Aelius Diog( ), gymnasiarch (or former gymnasiarch) have signed.'

12 ff. Who are these officials? In the third century at Oxyrhynchus applications for epicrisis are addressed to a pair called *οἱ πρὸς τῇ ἐπικρίcει* (Mertens, *Services* 103, 113): two former gymnasiarchs in **2186** (A.D. 260), an ex-gymnasiarch and an ex-exegete in SB 9161 and 9162 (3rd century) and PSI 457 (A.D. 269, see POxy. XL p. 19 n. 6). Before this, addressees differ:
1028 (A.D. 86) strategus, royal scribe, four *γραμματεῖc τῆc πόλεωc*.
1266 (98) and **1452** (127/8) strategus, royal scribe, *οἷc ἄλλοιc καθήκει*.
PSI 731 (1st/2nd) and W. *Chr.* 218 (132) bibliophylakes.
The signatories of **3034** might be bibliophylakes, though it is not normal to refer to their previous offices (cf. **2664** 13–14 n.). Alternatively, this might be the beginnings of the third-century practice. *οἱ πρὸς τῇ ἐπικρίcει* occur in the Arsinoite as early as 121/2 (BGU 109. 1).

13 *Διογ( )*: a Diogenes, former agoranomus and gymnasiarch, appears in **2588** of the same year.

3035. Order to Arrest

Plate X

19 2B.76/F (8–11) a — 11·7×9·5 cm. — 28 February 256

This document is of familiar type: see the list and discussion of the parallel texts in PMichBrowne pp. 47 ff. It is written along the fibres on a slip which is almost square; both features put it with a minority, but quite a substantial minority, of the parallels. The issuing official is specified in the heading: this is normal in the third- and fourth-century texts, though not earlier. The addressees are the comarchs and the *ἐπιcτάται τῆc εἰρήνηc*: exactly the same in **1507** and **64**. But in two things **3035** does stand aside from the other such orders: it carries a precise year-date; and it comes from the prytanis. For the second I find no parallel, except one new piece from Oxyrhynchus to be published by Dr. A. K. Bowman; for the first, no parallel at all.

The back is blank.

The interesting point is the adjective attached to the name of the wanted man: *Πετοcορᾶπιν Ὥρου χρηcιανόν*. I see no interpretation of this except as 'Christian' (4–5 n.). The question then arises, whether Petosorapis' religion was the thing which interested the prytanis, or was merely incidental.

If the first, we might be tempted to link this piece with the persecution under Valerian. This persecution seems to have had two stages (see for the sources P. J. Healy, *The Valerian Persecution*). (1) Bishops and priests were required to sacrifice or be exiled; the holding of Christian assemblies was perhaps to be punished by death. The measures against the higher clergy had been communicated to the proconsul of Africa before (and presumably not long before) Cyprian appeared before him on 30 August 257 (Knopf–Krüger, *Ausgew. Märtyrerakten*⁴ 62). (2) The next stage, some time in 258, attacked the clergy and senators, *equites*, and *caesariani* (Cyprian, *Ep.* 80. 2). Before this persecution there had been a lull since Gallus; Dionysius of Alexandria (Eus. *HE* 7. 10) dilates on Valerian's early benevolence.

It is clear then that our text comes more than a year before legal measures were taken against the Christians; and further that Petosorapis is unlikely to have belonged to the distinguished groups which were eventually attacked. This is not to say that for particular times, places, and persons, Christian practices may not have drawn the hostile attention of the authorities. But we can deduce nothing of that from our document; even the rare intervention of the prytanis does not guarantee an exceptional situation.

On the face of it, then, 'Christian' may be no more than an individuating description: similarly other such orders specify the profession, as in **2576** *πέμψον Ἔρωτα οἰ[ν]έμπορον*. But the document still has considerable interest. It is, with PSI 1412 (see 4–5 n.), by far the earliest use of the word 'Christian' in the papyrus documents; and it suggests that Petosorapis (who like many early Christians will have found no difficulty in his theophoric name) did not conceal his religion and indeed could be identified by it among the inhabitants of Mermertha.

← *π(αρὰ) τοῦ πρυτάνεως*
κωμάρχαις καὶ ἐπιστάταις εἰρήνης
κώμης Μερμέρθων. ἐξαυτῆς ἀνα-
πέμψατε Πετοσοῶπιν Ὥρου χρηςι-
5 *ανόν, ἢ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνέλθατε.*
(ἔτους) γ″ Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Γαλλιηνοῦ Cεβαcτῶν
Φαμενὼθ γ̄.

1 *π′* 2 *επιcταταις* corr. from *επιcτατη*

'From the prytanis, to the comarchs and supervisors of the peace of the village of Mermertha. Send up immediately Petosorapis son of Horus, Christian (?), or else come up yourselves. Year 3 of Valerianus and Gallienus Augusti, Phamenoth 3.'

4–5 *χρηcιανόν*: I can only interpret this as *χρηc⟨τ⟩ιανόν*, 'Christian' (the form in *-η-* is of course normal, see Blass–Debrunner *NTGramm.* § 24). The spelling without *tau* recurs in PSI 1412. 10, as restored by Dr. Rea (**2785** 2 note): *διεπ]εμψάμην coι δι⟨ὰ⟩ Cωτοῦ τοῦ χρηcια[νοῦ] τάλαντα δύο*. This is probably a phonetic spelling, cf. e.g. SB 4284. 7 *πλείc⟨τ⟩ων*; Dr. Gignac was able to cite eight third-century examples of this sort of assimilation. A parallel phenomenon is the variation between *-cc-* and *-cτ-*, of which examples are given in PPetaus 10. 6 note: hence perhaps *crissana* and *cressiani* in Latin inscriptions (Diehl, *ILCV* 1330, 1337).

3036–3045. Receipts for *ἐπικεφάλαιον*

These ten documents more than double the material bearing on the *ἐπικεφάλαιον πόλεως*, without solving its problems. For a general account, see the introduction to **2578–9**. The receipts may be set out chronologically as follows:

		date	*payment for*	*amount*	*no. of persons*	*signatory*
(1)	**3036**	24.2.298	297/8?	1,200	1	Sarapion systates
(2)	**3037**	4.3.298	297/8?	1,200	1	
				1,200	1	
(3)	**3038**	4.3.298	297/8	1,200	1	
(4)	**2578**	30.3.298	296/7	2,400	2	Didymus
(5)	**3039**	29.5.298	296/7	1,200	1	Didymus systates
(6)	**3040**	17.12.298	296/7	1,300	1	
(7)	**3041**	June 299	297/8?	1,200	1	Sarapion
(8)	**3142**	26.7.301	300/1	1,200	1	none
(9)	PSI 163	301/2		1,200	1	Lucius systates
(10)	PSI 780	20.7.305	303/4	400	1	illegible
			304/5	1,200		
(11)	PSI 302		308/9	doubtful[1]		doubtful
(12)	**3042**	308/9?	308/9?	1,600	1	Morion
		310/11?	310/11?			
(13)	**3043**	3.9.311	311/12?	3,200	2	Aphous and colleagues
(14)	**2579**	4.8.313	312/13	1,600	2	Heraclides meniarch
		(311?)	(310/11?)			
(15)	**3044**		312/13	2,400	1	Elias and colleagues
(16)	PSI 462	20.8.314	314/15	2,400	1	Athenodorus systates
(17)	**3045**	314/15	315/16	2,400	1	Aur. Politicus and colleagues

The increased evidence still attests no year of this tax earlier than 296/7, and no city other than Oxyrhynchus. Most payments are of 1,200 dr. or its multiples; but there is no obvious pattern to the divergences. All the receipts except (8) have signatures (no. 11 is probably damaged); and of these all except (15) have signatures

[1] See **3142** 12 note. If the view there taken is correct, the receipt is unfinished or broken: the sum (and perhaps a signatory) came later.

in the same hand as the text—the documents, that is, must be either copies of the originals, or holographs of the issuing officials. (2) and (7) contain two receipts on the one sheet; (1), (5), (8), (10), (12), and (17) leave space blank for a second receipt.

The systates is the most frequent signatory. (1)–(3) and (7) are issued by Sarapion, (4)–(6) by Didymus. Sarapion signs both in 298 and in June 299; if then it is the same Sarapion, we can conclude that the systates continued to be responsible for payments for his own year as they came in later: Sarapion apparently for 297/8 (**3036** 2 n.).

On two points the diplomatic changes in the later receipts. The trade of the payer is certainly specified in (7), (8), (12), (14), (15), and (17), and probably in (13); this may connect with payment through a guild (**2578–9** introd.). A second difference is the mention of 'orders' under which the payment was made. (8), and (10) to (16) inclusive, cite orders, either with specification of the official or else (8, 16) orders unspecified. The officials cited are the prefect (8, 10, 12, 13), the catholicus (11), a *διαcημότατος* (14, ? 15). Were the orders for the imposition of the tax, or for its amount? Do we deduce that in this period (A.D. 301–14) the levy was specifically renewed each year?

3036

28 4B.58/B (6–8) a 7·2×24·5 cm. 24 February 298

→ *διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλαίου*
πόλεως τοῦ διελθόντος
(ἔτους) ιδ″ καὶ ιγ″ καὶ ϛ″
τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
5 *Διοκλητ[ιανο]ῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ*
cεβαcτ[ῶν] καὶ Κωνcταντί[ου]
καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφα-
νεcτάτων καιcάρων
ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος Κορνηλίου
10 *Καρπουψίου δραχμὰc*
χιλίαc διακοcίαc γ(ίνονται) (δρ.) Ἄc.
(ἔτους) ιδ″ καὶ (ἔτους) ιγ″ καὶ (ἔτους) ϛ″
Μεχεὶρ λ̅.
Cαραπίων cυcτάτη(c)
15 *cεcη(μείωμαι).*
(m.²) παρ οριου
Back ↓ *(m.³) ἀποχαί*
18 → *(m.⁴) .....ωνος*
κ̣α̣ὶ Cαραπίωνος

1, 9 *ὑπερ* 10 l. *Καλπουρνίου* 14 *cυcτατῆ* 15 *cεcη*ᴸ

'There was paid for capitation tax of the city, for the past 14th and 13th and 6th year of our lords Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and Constantius and Maximianus the most illustrious Caesars, in the name of Cornelius Calpurnius, one thousand two hundred drachmas, making 1,200 dr. Year 14 and year 13 and year 6, Mecheir 30.
I, Sarapion the systates, have signed.
From Horius (?).
(*Back*) Receipts
..... and of Sarapion.'

2 f. Either *διελθόντος* is a mistake for *ἐνεcτῶτος*; or else the numerals in 3 are a mistake for *ιγ ιβ ε*. The same choice in **3037** 2 f. **3038**, dated the same day as **3037** and signed by the same systates as both **3036** and **3037**, has *ἐνεcτῶτος*. If we assume that each systates was responsible for one year's receipts, we must choose to emend *διελθόντος*, for the year 13–12–5 belonged to Didymus and not to Sarapion (**2578**, **3039–40**).

16 The scribe left a gap between *παρ* and *οριου*; the gap is not fully explained by a deep crease in the papyrus. But *παρ' ὁρίου* or *ὁρ⟨ρ⟩ίου* seems to lead nowhere. Perhaps *παρ' Ὁρίου*: the agent who paid for Cornelius. If (despite the gap) *παροpίου* was intended, the meaning would presumably be 'on the outskirts of the city' (PMerton 34. 11 n.).

17 *ἀποχαί*: the same docket **3037** 36, there justified because the sheet contains two receipts. Perhaps the writer intended to add a second on the lower half of **3036**, which is in fact occupied only by *παρ' Ὁρίου*.

3037

29 4B.56/C (8–9) b 6·7×23·8 cm. 4 March 298

→ *διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλαίου*
πόλεως τοῦ διελθόντος
(ἔτους) ιϛ″ καὶ (ἔτους) ιγ″ καὶ (ἔτους) ϛ″
τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
5 *Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ*
Μαξιμιανοῦ cεβαcτῶν
καὶ Κωνcταντίου
κα[ὶ] Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν
ἐπιφανεcτάτων και-
10 *cάρων ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος*
Παύλου Διονυcίου
δραχμὰc χιλίαc
διακοcίαc γ(ίν.) (δρ.) Ἄc.
(ἔτους) ιδ″ καὶ (ἔτους) ιγ″ καὶ (ἔτους) ϛ″
15 *Φαμενὼθ η′.*

Cαραπίων cυcτάτης
cεcη(μείωμαι).

καὶ ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος
Ἀντινόου Εὐδαί-
μο]νος τοῦ αὐτοῦ
(ἔτους) ιδ″ [κα]ὶ (ἔτους) ιγ″ καὶ
(ἔτους) ς″ τῶν κυρίων
ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ
καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ cεβαcτῶ(ν)
καὶ Κωνcταντίου καὶ
Μαξ]ιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφα-
νεcτάτων καιcάρων
ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος
τοῦ αὐτοῦ δραχμὰc
χιλίαc διακοcίαc
γ(ίνονται) (δρ.) Ἀc.
(ἔτους) ιδ″ καὶ (ἔτους) ιγ″
καὶ (ἔτους) ς″ Φαμενὼθ η′.
Cαραπίων
cυcτάτης
cεcη(μείωμαι).
Back ↓ ἀποχαί

10, 18, 28 ὑπερ 17, 35 cεcη- 17 at the end, two pen-trials 24 cεβαcτῶ

2 διελθόντος must be a mistake for ἐνεcτῶτος, as at **3036** 2 f.
35 If 34 is correctly read, and 34 and 35 are aligned, there is no space in 35 for cυcτάτης, even in abbreviation.

3038

29 4B.56/C (8–9) c 5·3 × 18 cm. 4 March 298

→ διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπι[κ]εφα-
λαίου πόλεως τοῦ
ἐνεcτῶτος (ἔτους) ιδ″
καὶ (ἔτους) ιγ″ καὶ (ἔτους) ς″
τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶ(ν)

Διοκλητιανοῦ
καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
cεβαcτῶν καὶ
Κωνcταντίου
καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
τῶν ἐπιφανεcτάτω(ν)
καιcάρων ὑπὲρ
ὀνόματος Κοπρέ-
ωc ἐπίκ(λην) Χοοῦc
Φιλίcκου δρα-
χμὰc χιλίαc
διακοcίαc (γίν.) (δρ.) Ἀc.
(ἔτους) ιδ′ καὶ (ἔτους) ιγ′
καὶ (ἔτους) ς″
Φαμενὼθ η′.
Cαραπίων
cυcτάτης
cεcη(μείωμαι).
Back ↓ [...].αι.....[

5 ημω 11 επιφανεcτατω 12 υπερ 14 Or επικ(αλουμένου) 23 cεcη-

24 Possibly ἀπο]χαὶ κεφαλ[αίου. But the second word forces the traces.

3039

28 4B.60/B (1–3) a 8 × 21·3 cm. 29 May 298

→ διεγράφη ὑ(πὲρ) ἐπικεφαλ[αίου
τοῦ διελθ[ό]ντος ⟨ἔτους⟩ ιγ′ καὶ [ιβ′
καὶ ε′ τῶν κυρίων ἡ[μῶν
Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ
Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ
Κωνcταντίου καὶ
Μαξιμιανοῦ cεβαcτῶν
ὀνόμ(ατος) Ἀνουβίωνος Ἀφυ[γ-

χίου δραχμὰς χιλίας
διακοσίας (γίνονται) (δρ.) Ἀc.
(ἔτους) ιδ' καὶ ιγ' καὶ ς"
Παῦνι δ'. Δίδυμος cυστά-
της cεcημίωμαι.

1 ὑϛ 8 ονομ 12 παϋνι The lower half of the sheet, and the back, are blank

3040

28 4B.62/B (5–7) c 7·3×7 cm. 17 December 298

→ διεγράφη ὑ(πὲρ) ἐπικαιφαλαίου
τοῦ διελθό[ν]τος ι̣γ' κ̣α̣ὶ̣ ιβ' κ̣[αὶ] ε̣'
τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ
καὶ Μαξιμι̣α̣ν̣ο̣ῦ̣ κ̣α̣ὶ̣ Κ̣ω̣νc̣τα̣ν-
τίου καὶ Μαξιμανοῦ cεβα-
cτῶν ὀ̣[ν]ό̣(ματος) Ἀρίου δραχμὰς
χιλία[c τρ]ιακοσίας (δρ.) Ἀτ.
(ἔτους) ιε' καὶ ι[δ]" καὶ ζ' Χοιὰκ κα̅.
Δίδυ[μο]ς̣ cυcτάτης δι' ἐμοῦ
Ἐπ[ιμ]άχου cεcημίωμαι.

ακυρ.....ος τῆς προ-
τέρας ἀποχῆς.

1 l. επικεφ- *Back*: blank

2 ιβ' seems clear; the two damaged numerals are read on this basis. The payment therefore must be for the last year but one, A.D. 296/7. The original receipt (11 f.) had presumably been lost. **3040** is the replacement; and, though issued in 298/9 (l. 8), retains διελθόντος from the original wording (Rea).

11 Perhaps ἀκύρου ὀ̣[ν]τος, l. οὔcης.

3041

28 4B.60/C (13–15) a 8·5×14 cm. 14/23 June 299

→ (ἔτους) ι̣[ ]' καὶ (ἔτους) ι̣." [κ]α̣ὶ̣ [(ἔτους) .]" .[.....]ριων
ἡμῶν Διοκλητια[νοῦ] καὶ
Μ̣[α]ξ̣ειμειανοῦ [cεβαcτ]ῶν καὶ
Κωνcταντίου καὶ Μαξειμειανοῦ τῶν
ἐπιφανεcτάτων καιcάρων ὑπὲρ
ἐπικεφαλαίου π[όλ]εως ὀνόματος
Σ̣ι̣λ̣βανοῦ πραγμα̣[τ]ευτοῦ δραχμὰς
χειλίας διακοσίας (γίνονται) (δρ.) Ἀc.
(ἔτους) ιε̣" καὶ (ἔτους) ιδ" κ[αὶ (ἔτους)] ζ̣"
Παῦνι κ[.]—.
Cαραπίων cε[c]η(μείωμαι).

5 ὑπερ 10 παϋνι 11 cε[c]η— *Back*: blank

1 Before this we should expect a line of the form διεγράφη ὑπὲρ τοῦ διελθόντος. But the surface, where preserved, shows no trace of ink. The space available after the numerals in 1 is too long for τῶν κυρίων alone: perhaps τ[ῶν αὐτῶν κυ]ρίων. Both considerations suggest that we have only the lower part of a double receipt.

The date is difficult. In 9 ιδ is certain, and the other two numerals can be read to conform. In 1 nothing much survives except the ι of the first and second numeral. If the systatai were responsible for the arrears of their year, even after leaving office, and if this Sarapion is the same as in **3036–8**, restore L ι̣[δ]" καὶ L ι̣χ" καὶ [L ς]".

3042

28 4B.60/C (20–1) a 7·3×26·3 cm. 308/9 or 310/11

→ διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλαίου
τοῦ ἐνεcτῶτος ε̅ καὶ γ (ἔτους)
Φαῶφι δ' ἀκολούθως
τοῖc κελευcθ(εῖcι) ὑπὸ τοῦ
διαcη(μοτάτου) ἡγεμόνος
Ζακάων Λουκίου
ὀνηλάτης ἀργ(υρίου) δρα-
χμὰς χειλίας ἑξακοσίας
(γίνονται) (δρ.) Ἀχ.
Μωρίων cεcη(μείωμαι).

4 *κελευcθ* 5 *διαcη⁻* 6 l. *Ζακάωνος* 7 l. *ὀνηλάτου* 10 *cεcη⁻* Lower part of sheet (18 cm.), and back, blank

2 The '5th and 3rd' year might be 308/9 (Maximinus and Constantine, ignoring Galerius), or 310/11 (Constantine and Licinius, ignoring Galerius and Maximinus). **2579** 3 note.

3043

39 3B.76/F (1–2) a 12·2 × 12·2 cm. 3 September 311

→ *διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλέου πόλεως*
ἀκο[λ]ούθος τοῖς κελευστῖcι ὑπὸ τοῦ
διαcημοτάτου ἡγεμόνος ὀνόματος
Ἀντίνους καὶ ὡς χρηματίζι
5 *καὶ Ἀμμώνιος υἱὸς ˋ.[.]ριcτηαι' ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς*
[[χιλιας]] τριcχιλίας διακοcίας γ(ίνονται) (δρ.) *'Γc.*
(*ἔτους*) *κ''* *καὶ η''* *Θὼθ ε'.*
Αὐ[ρ]ήλιος Ἀφοῦς καὶ τῶν κυνωνῶν
cεcημίωμαι.

1 *ὑπερ* l. *-κεφαλαίου* 2 l. *ἀκολούθως, κελευcθεῖcι* 3 l. *ἡγεμόνος* *ον-* corr. from *ων-* 4 l. *Ἀντινόου* 5 l. *Ἀμμωνίου υἱοῦ* 8 l. *οἱ κοινωνοί* *Back*: blank

5 .[.]*ριcτηαι*: *α* has been corrected from *ι*; the preceding letters are certain. This should specify the trade. The initial trace is the left end of a high horizontal, e.g. *τ*. Apparently not *χ*[*ει*]*ριcτ*{*η*}*αί*.

3044

35 4B.71/B (1–3) b 12·5 × 13 cm. 312/13, 313/14

. . . .
→ *τοc αἰνάτου .τ..[..] ἑβδό-*
μου (*ἔτους*) *θ καὶ ζ* (*m.*²) *καὶ ε*
(*m.*¹) *ὑπὸ τοῖς καιλευcθεῖ[cι] ὀνό-*
ματος Παύλους 'Ηρακλέου
5 *ταπητᾶ ἀργυρείου*
τραχμὰ δειcχειλεία
τετρακοcία (*γίνονται*) *'Β* (δρ.) *υ.*
(*m.*²) *'Ηλίας καὶ ὑ κυγωνοὶ cεcη-*
μείωμε.

10 (*m.*³) *διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλέου*
ὑπὲρ ἔτους (*ἔτους*) *η' καὶ ς''*
(*m.*⁴) *τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωcταντίνου καὶ Λικι[νν]ίου cεβαcτῷ(ν)*
(*m.*⁵) *ἀκολούθω[c τ]οῖς κελευcθεῖ[cι] δι..ο...*
.].[.....]. *Παύλου*[.....]..[.].[.].[..]..
. . . . . .

1 l. *ἐνάτου* 3 l. *κελ-* 4 l. *Παύλου* 6–7 l. *δραχμὰc διcχιλίαc τετρακοcίαc* 7 *'Βcυ* 8 l. *οἱ κοινωνοί* 9 l. *-μείωμαι* or *-μειώμε*⟨*θα*⟩ 10 *ὑπερ* l. *-λαίου* 11 *ὑπερ ετους* L *ή* *Back* Blank

'. . . ninth . . . seventh . . . year 9 and 7 (2nd hd.) and 5 (1st hd.) under the orders in the name of Paulus son of Heraclius, carpet-man, two thousand four hundred drachmas of silver, making 2,400 dr. (2nd hd.) I Elias and my colleagues have signed.

(3rd hd.) There was paid for the capitation tax, for the year 8 and 6 (4th hd.) of our lords Constantinus and Licinius Augusti, (5th hd.) in accordance with the orders . . .'

1–2 The year is 312/13; the receipt for the next year (line 11) follows on the same sheet. Presumably we should restore *ἐνεcτῶ*]*τοc* (rather than *διελθόν*]*τοc* or *εἰcιόν*]*τοc*) at the beginning of line 1. After *αἰνάτου* the traces allow *ἔτοc* [*καὶ*], but not *ἔτου*[*c*.

4–5 The same payer in **3045** (for 315/16).

8 Here, as in **3045**, the receiving officers form a *κοινόν*. But who were they? Cf. **2855** 1; **3137** 1.

13–14 Reconstruction has to rest on two premisses, neither certain: that *κελευcθε*[*ῖ*]*cι* was so written in full; and that *Παύλου* is a correct reading. Before the putative *π* is a small high loop, i.e. perhaps *ὑπὲ*]*ρ* (though one might expect the shaft of *rho* to show) or *ὀν*]*ό*(*ματοc*); and if that is right, we expect the end of 13 and the beginning of 14 to contain the title and perhaps the name of an official; but if so *ὑπὸ τοῦ* must be missing, and what follows must be taken as *δι*⟨*αc*⟩*ημοτ*⟨*άτ*⟩*ου*. Alternatively the payment might have been made through someone: but *δια* was not written (most like *διη.ρτου*).

3045

28 4B.62/B (4) a 13·3 × 26 cm. 314/15

→ *διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικαιφα-*
λίου τοῦ ἰcιόντοc (*ἔτους*) *ι''* *καὶ* (*ἔτους*) *η'*
Παῦλιc 'Ηρακλήου ταπητᾶc
ἀργυρίου δραχμὰc διcχι-
5 *λίαc τετρακοcίαc* (δρ.) *'Βυ.*
Αὐρήλιος Πολιτικὸc καὶ ὑ κυ-
νωνὺ cεcημιώμεθα.

1 *ὑπερ* l. *επικεφ-* 2 *ἰcιον-* 6 f. l. *οἱ κοινωνοὶ* Heavy kollesis to left. Lower part of sheet (19 cm.), and back, blank

3 The same man, in the spelling *Παύλους 'Ηρακλέου*, in **3044** 4.
6 f. *ὑ κυνωνὺ*: **3044** 8 note.

III. DOCUMENTS OF THE REIGN OF PHILIPPUS ARABS

3046–3050. Documents of the Reign of Philippus Arabs

These five documents are grouped together, because they supplement the material collected in *JRS* 57 (1967) 134 ff. It was suggested, on the basis of the older evidence, that Egypt underwent a wide administrative reform in the reign of Philippus Arabs: the object was to counter declining productivity; measures were taken in at least three sectors (agriculture, liturgies, taxation and the *annona*); some at least of these measures were taken by an extraordinary commission, consisting of the *rationalis* Claudius Marcellus and his assistant procurator Salutaris. Of the new material:

3048 illustrates the decline in production: corn was so short in March 246 that the state resorted to compulsory purchase. Similar *στενοχωρία* was already attested for October 248 (PErl. 18, cf. **2854**).

3050 includes another proclamation of Marcellus and Salutaris: the subject was apparently the restoration of correct boundaries of plots. Here, as in **78** and PLeit. 16, the commission shows its concern for accurate land-records.

3046, **3047**, and **970** (for which **3046** now provides a date) are returns of unirrigated and artificially irrigated land. This traditional operation again helped to bring some realism into registers of land and the tax due upon it. A general survey of the same kind took place in the Great Oasis, under orders of Marcellus and Salutaris: *Bodl. Gr. Inscr.* 3018 (now published in *JEA* 57 (1971) 165). Two of the new pieces (**970** and **3046**) refer to the orders of a special official, *ὁ πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεσιν*.

3049 provides the earliest mention of decaproti in Oxyrhynchus, and gives a little support to the view that the office was a new creation of the Philippan reform. Decaproti also figure in **3050**, where (as in PLeit. 16) they concern themselves with amending the land-register.

2664 15 suggests that the office of phylarch was introduced as part of the same reform. Dr. A. K. Bowman has deduced a related change in the structure of liturgical tribes: see *Town Councils of Roman Egypt* 150.

3046. Return of Uninundated and Artificially Irrigated Land

20 3B.31/E (1–5) e 6·8×21 cm. 244/5

This return belongs to a well-attested type: see the list by C. Préaux, *CdÉ* 38 (1963) 120 f.; add BGU 2022–3, **3047**. Its main interest is the official whose orders are cited: Aurelius Antoninus *ὁ κράτιστος πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεσιν*. Antoninus has already

appeared in **970**, an *ἀπογραφή* of unknown content and date, in which his title was uncertainly read; this return can now be restored and dated.

Before A.D. 197 returns of uninundated land invariably cite the orders of the prefect: Préaux, loc. cit. 127. After that date, practice varies:

BGU 2023 (198/201) orders of the procurator Publ. Cerealis
BGU 2022 (202) orders (official not specified)
BGU 139 (202) orders of the prefect
PHamb. 11 etc. (Préaux, loc. cit. 120) (202) orders of the procurator Cl. Diognetus
PFamTebt. 51 (206) no orders mentioned
PFamTebt. 52 (208) orders (official not specified)
PTebt. 324 (208) orders of the prefect Subatianus Aquila
1459 (226) orders of the prefects and ex-epistrategus
1549 (240) no orders mentioned
3046 (244/5) and **970** orders of the *πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεσιν* Aur. Antoninus
3047 (245) no orders mentioned.

In this sector, as in others, the Severan reorganization clearly introduced an elaboration of bureaucracy, with the delegation of special problems to special officials. It is even possible that the office *πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεσι* was created under Severus, and existed as a continuous appointment. (Cf. A. Stein, *Charisteria Rzach* (1930), 178.) But the evidence is insufficient: (*a*) the office as such is attested for *c.* 220 (**3032**), 223 (PSI 1066), 232 (W. *Chr.* 41 iii 14), and 244/5 (**3046**, **970**); (*b*) three earlier procurators, whose title specifies no particular department, might, from their functions, have held this office: Publius Cerealis (*c.* 198/201: W. *Chr.* 235, BGU 2023), Clau. Diognetus (202/4),[1] Clau. Alexander (206–7 and 208–9: W. *Chr.* 235). And the variations of authority cited in the returns perhaps suggest *ad hoc* arrangements.

There is some evidence that such returns were (or might be) submitted annually, not only in years of defective flood (PMich. VI pp. 9 f.). The practice apparently lapsed in the chaos of the later third century: **3046–7** and **970** are the last known returns of this type.

3046, **3047**, and **970** form a group not only in date, but also in a diplomatic feature: all three are docketed on the back with the name of the village to which they refer. In both **3046** and **970** the declarant is an Antinoite.

→ *κωμογρ(αμματεῖ) Πα]κ̣ερκ̣ῆ*
παρὰ Αὐρη]λ̣(ίου) Σαραπίωνος
Ἡρα[κ]λείδου τοῦ καὶ Πα-
νάρους ἀγορανομήσ[αντ(ος)
5 *τῆς Ἀντινοέων πόλεως.*

[1] The view that he was *proc. usiacus* has very slight foundations: *JRS* 57 (1967) 139 n. 53.

κατὰ τὰ κελ(ευσθέντα) ὑπὸ Αὐρηλ(ίου)
Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ κρατίστ(ου)
πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεσι
περὶ ἀπογρ(αφῆς) ἀβρόχου καὶ
ἐπηντ(λημένης) ἀπογρ(άφομαι) πρὸς τὸ
ἐνεστὸς β (ἔτος) Μάρκων
[Ἰουλίω]ν Φι[λί]ππων
κα[σά]ρων [τῶν] κυρί[ων
π[ερὶ] κώμην Πα-
κερκὴ ἐκ τ[οῦ C]ωστρά-
του παρεμ[βο]λῆς ἀπη-
λιώτου χ[ώμ]ατος καὶ
ἐποικίου Μενεκράτους
λε[γο]μένου εἰς Πολυ-
δεύκην Ἡρακλείδου
(μοναρτάβου) [[.]].[....]ντλ(ημένης) (ἀρ.) θ
καὶ (πρότερον) Πτο[...]λεμαίου
Ἐπιμάχου εἰς Πούπλιο(ν)
Αἴλιον Ἡρακλείδην
κατοικ(ικῆς) (μοναρτάβου) ἐπηντλ(ημένης)
(ἀρ.) ιβ καὶ εἰς Πτολεμαῖον
Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Σαρα-
πίωνος (μοναρτάβου) (ἀρ.) ιβ ἄλλαι
(ἀρ.) η (ἥμισυ) (γίνονται) (ἀρ.) κ (ἥμισυ) τὸ ἐπι-
βάλλον μοι μέρο(ς) (μοναρτάβου)
ἐπηντλ(ημένης) (ἀρ.) ιβ καὶ περὶ τὸ Σα-
τύρ[ο]ν ἐποίκ(ιον) ἐκ το(ῦ) Ἀλεξάνδ(ρου)
.....ριδ... εἰς
Ἀμμώνι[ον] Κράτωνο(ς)
scanty remains of four more lines

(*Back*) → Π]ακερκή

2 αυρη]λ 6 κελ αυρηλ 7 κρατιστ 9 απογρ 10 επηντ απογρ 21 α-]ντλ
22 α′ 23 πουπλιο 25 κατοικ α- επηντλ 28 α- 29 ης′ κς′ 30 μερο α-
31 επηντλ 32 εποικ εκ το αλεξανδ

'To the comogrammateus of Pakerke, from Aurelius Sarapion son of Heraclides *alias* Panares, former agoranomus of the city of the Antinoeis.

In accordance with the orders given by Aurelius Antoninus the most excellent (procurator) in charge of surveys, regarding the registration of uninundated and artificially irrigated land, I register for the present 2nd year of the Marci Iulii Philippi Caesares our lords:

Near the village of Pakerke, from Sostratus' lot, (at) the embankment of the east camp (?) and the so-called Farmstead of Menecrates: in the name of Polydeuces son of Heraclides, land paying one artaba . . . artificially irrigated, 9 arouras; and former property of Ptolemaeus son of Epimachus, in the name of Publius Aelius Heraclides, catoecic land paying one artaba artificially irrigated, 12 arouras; and in the name of Ptolemaeus son of Sarapion and grandson of Sarapion, land paying one artaba, 12 arouras (and) another 8½ arouras, making 20½ arouras: my share in this, land paying one artaba artificially irrigated, 12 arouras.

And near the Farmstead of Satyrus, from Alexander's lot . . .'

6 ff. This confirms the guess πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκ(έψεσι) in **970**, which will be of about the same date. No basis remains for identifying Antoninus with the acting prefect Antinous (215/16).

15–19 After C]ωστράτου understand κλήρου, as usual. The two following phrases presumably locate the land more precisely. Neither is attested elsewhere; the first is of unexpected shape, but I cannot find a reading to replace παρεμ[βο]λῆς. εἰς introduces the name of the lessee, see **3048** 5 n.

21–2 In 22 it would be convenient to suppose that the lacuna contained no writing: the scribe simply split Πτο|λεμαίου across a flaw in the writing surface. If this is right, we might make the same assumption in 21, and read the expected formula (μοναρτάβου) [[.]] ἐ[πη υαc.]ντλ(ημένης).

29–31 One group of areas finishes in 31, and the next begins. Since μέροc thus comes at the end of the section, it presumably refers to the whole series, rather than to the 20½ arouras leased to Ptolemaeus.

3047. Declaration of Uninundated and Artificially Irrigated Land

27 3B.39/J (4–5) a 14 × 40·2 cm. 25 February/26 March 245

This document clearly comes from a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος: it is numbered '36' in the upper margin; and there are remains of a join along the left edge. The docket Φοβώου has been added on the back, in the top right-hand corner.

The text is a declaration of land, addressed to the comogrammateus of Phobou and other villages. More specifically (though no direct statement is made in the introductory formula, line 4) it is an ἀπογραφὴ ἀβρόχου καὶ ἐπηντλημένης: a familiar type, for which see **3046**.

The total of land declared is considerable: *c.* 1,700 arouras, spread through five villages in the eastern toparchy. The declaration is correspondingly long, and exceptionally elaborate: it lists the plots village by village, with the taxation-status of each; dates are given, sometimes for purchase (ὠνημένη α ἔτους), sometimes for registration (ἀναγραφεῖσα α ἔτους), sometimes without specifying (see 6 note). The closest parallel for all this is not in the other declarations, but in the register PMendesGenev. (SPP xvii pp. 9 ff.).

Much of the land is catoecic, or comes from old κλῆροι or (37) δωρεαί. The rest is described, in a new term, as ἐκ τῆς ἀγυοτομήτου. All of it is leased out, the bulk to a group called οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου.

The dates are expressed as bare year-numbers; except for two references to Tiberius (25, 31), the name of the emperor is never stated. I assume that any one

figure is deemed to apply to the first reign which will accommodate it, reckoning in reverse chronological order from A.D. 244/5.[1] The scribe saw no ambiguities in this system, except for the remote years of Tiberius, which are therefore particularized. Thus:

Dates of registration	α	(Philip) 244
	β	(Philip) 244/5? (Gordian III) 238/9? (if the former, the registration was made in the six months between the beginning of the year and the date of **3047**)
	γ	(Gordian III) 239/40

Some year-numbers stand by themselves, with no participle attached; all these are α; no doubt they refer to registration in 244.

Dates of purchase:

line 10	γ	(Gordian III) 239/40
lines 21 f.	ιβ, θ	(Alexander Severus) 232/3 and 229/30
lines 25 f.	κγ	(Caracalla) 214/15
	β	Tiberius 15/16
	κ, ιθ	(see note on 25)
lines 30 f.	ιε	(Septimius Severus) 206/7
	κθ	(Commodus) 188/9
	λ	(presumably Commodus, rather than Augustus; perhaps years within one reign go in normal chronological order) 189/90
	ιβ	Tiberius 25/6
	θ	(Tiberius) 22/3
line 33	ιγ	(Alexander Severus) 233/4
line 35	γ	(Gordian III) 239/40
	δ	(Gordian III, 240/1, with the years again in normal order? or Maximinus, 237/8?)

This table illustrates the growth of a holding over two and a half centuries: purchases of catoecic and cleruchic land under Tiberius; then nothing until Commodus.

The owner of the land, Calpurnia Heraclia, must have been a rich woman. The part of her property declared here amounts to some 1,700 ar.; **3048** (March 246) shows that she owned considerable deposits of grain in the lower and eastern toparchies, and employed *πραγματευταί* and *φροντισταί* to look after them. Her father had been

[1] A similar set of unspecified years was tentatively postulated for PMarmarica by Dr. Rea (*Par. del Passato*, 1967, p. 52).

a Fellow of the Museum. One of her guardians had been prytanis of Oxyrhynchus (**3048** 13). No doubt this was a family of Alexandrian notables.

I am much indebted to Professor Youtie for his help with this text.

λϛ

→ κωμογρ(αμματεῖ) Φοβώου καὶ ἄλ(λων) κω(μῶν) τῆς πρὸς ἀπηλ(ιώτην) τοπ(αρχίας)
παρὰ Καλπουρνίας Ἡρακλείας τῆς καὶ Εὐδαμίας θυγατρὸς [Καλπουρ-
νίου Θέωνος τῶν ἐν Μουσείῳ σειτηθέντων διὰ Αὐρηλίου [Ἱέρακος
γραμματέως· ἀπογράφομαι πρὸς τὸ ἐνεστὸς β (ἔτος) ἣν ἔχω περὶ Θμ[οινακωμ( )
5 ἀγυοτο{το}μήτου εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτ[ο]υ
ἰδιωτ(ικῆς) α (ἔτους) ἐν ἀμπ(έλοις) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρούρας) σεLΙϛ ἐπηντλ(ημένης) α
(ἔτους) (ἀρ.) ιγη ιϛ γ(ίνονται) ἀβ(ρόχου) καὶ
ἐπη(ντλημένης) ἀν(αγραφεῖσαι) α (ἔτους)
(ἀρ.) σιηθ ὑπολ[ό]γου ἐνφόρου ἐν τάξει τῶν παρ..μα.[..].σκεπομένων
εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου ἀν(αγραφείσας) β (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) (ἥμισυ)
Θμοινεψώβθεως ἀγυοτομήτου εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν Οὐεσπασιαν[οῦ
10 καὶ Τίτου βασιλ(ικῆς) ἀν(αγραφείσας) γ (ἔτους) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) δ ἰδιω(τικῆς)
α (ἔτους) ἐν ἀμπέλ(οις) ἐκκεκομμ(εν) ἀβρόχο[υ
(ἀρ.) υξαdλβξδ ἐ[π]ηντλ(ημένης) ὁμοί(ως) α (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) κϛ (μοναρτάβου)
ὁμοί(ως) εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀ⟨πὸ⟩ τρῦ ρ̣ί̣κου
ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ρζθ ἐπηντλ(ημένης) ὁμοί(ως) εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς (ἀρ.) σπθιϛ καὶ εἰς
Διόδωρον τὸν καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον ὠνη(μένης) γ (ἔτους) (μοναρτάβου) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.)
θηξδρκη ἄλ(λης) ὠνη(μένης)..
ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) δ καὶ εἰς Ἀντίοχον Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Ἐξακῶντος διὰ
15 τῶν υἱῶν (μοναρτάβου) [ἀ]βρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) εθή ἐπηντλ(ημένης) (ἀρ.) ι γ(ίνονται) (ἀρ.)
ιεθή γ(ίνονται) κώμ(ης) βασιλ(ικῆς)
ἀν(αγραφεῖσαι) γ (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) δ ⟨ἰδιω(τικῆς)⟩ α (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.)
υξαdλβξδ (μοναρτάβου) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ρλθξδρκ[η]
γ(ίνονται) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) χβdηξδρκη ἐπη(ντλημένης) α (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) κϛ
(μοναρτάβου) (ἀρ.) σπθιϛ γ(ίνονται) ἐπη(ντλημένης) (ἀρ.) τϛ[θι
Σχοίβεως ἐκ τοῦ Πολυνείκου σὺν τῷ Μαινίσκου καὶ .[...
ταίου καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀγυοτομήτου εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν Οὐ[εσπασιανοῦ
20 καὶ Τίτου ἰδιω(τικῆς) α (ἔτους) ἀπὸ ἐκκεκομ(μεν) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ε κατοικ(ικῆς)
ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) κδ
ἐπηντλ(ημένης) (ἀρ.) κζ γ(ίνονται) (ἀρ.) να ὠνη(μένης) γ (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) δ
ιβ (ἔτους) ὁμοίως (ἀρ.) [ε

θ (ἔτους) ὁμοίως (ἀρ.) ε γ(ίνονται) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ιδ βασιλ(ικῆς) ...( ) γίς
ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ι γ(ίνονται) κλ(ήρων) βασιλ(ικῆς) ἀν(αγραφεῖσαι) γίς
ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ι ⟨ἰδιω(τικῆς)⟩ α (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ε (μοναρτάβου) ἀβ(ρόχου)
(ἀρ.) λη ἐπη(ντλημένης) (μοναρτάβου) (ἀρ.) κζ
καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἐπικράτους κλήρου εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν
Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου ὠνη(μένης) κγ (ἔτους) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) κ β (ἔτους) Τιβερίου
ὁμοί(ως) (ἀρ.) ς
κ (ἔτους) ὁμοί(ως) (ἀρ.) δ ιθ (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) κς γ(ίνονται) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) νς κατοι-
κ(ικῆς) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ξς d̅η̅ι̅ς̅ ἐπη(ντλημένης)
(ἀρ.) νγLίς γ(ίνονται) (ἀρ.) ρκ γ(ίνονται) κλ(ήρου) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ρκβd̅η̅ι̅ς̅
ἐπη(ντλημένης) (ἀρ.) νγLίς
γ(ίνονται) κώμ(ης) βασιλ(ικῆς) ἀν(αγραφεῖσαι) γίς ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ι
⟨ἰδιωτικῆς⟩ α (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ε
(μοναρτάβου) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ρξd̅η̅ι̅ς̅
γ(ίνονται) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ροεd̅η̅ι̅ς̅ ἐπη(ντλημένης) (μοναρτάβου) πLίς
Ὀσοροινώφριος κ̣α̣τ̣ο̣ικ(ικῆς) ἐκ τοῦ Μηνοδώρου ἰδι[ω(τικῆς)] (μοναρτάβου) ὠνη(μένης)
ιε (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου)
(ἀρ.) ιε κθ (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ι λ (ἔτους) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) κε ιβ (ἔτους) Τιβ(ερίου)
ἐπη(ντλημένης) (ἀρ.) η θ (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ς
γ(ίνονται) (μοναρτάβου) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) νς ἐπη(ντλημένης) (ἀρ.) η α (ἔτους) ἀπὸ
ἐν ἀμπ(έλοις) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ε (διαρτάβου) μεμιcθ(ωμεν) εἰς τὰ
πάτρια τῷ ιγ (ἔτει) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) θ τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντά μοι μέρη
Τυχιννεκώτεως ἐκ τοῦ κάτω περιχώματος εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ
οἴκου θεῶν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου ὠνη(μένης) γ (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) λε δ (ἔτους) (ἀρ.)
λα γ(ίνονται) ἀβ(ρόχου) α....( )
κλη( ) (ἀρ.) ξς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου περιχώματος καὶ τῶν (πρότερον)
Ἀρτεμιδώρου δωρεᾶς εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν Οὐεσπ(ασιανοῦ)
καὶ Τίτου κατοικ(ικῆς) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ν ὠνη(μένης) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ριδ γ(ίνονται)
(μοναρτάβου) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ρξδ
(διαρτάβου) μεμιcθ(ωμεν) εἰς τὰ πάτρια ἀβ(ρόχου) ἀπὸ (ἀρ.) β τὸ ἐπιβάλ(λον) μέρος.
(ἔτους) β′ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἰουλίου Φιλίππου Εὐσεβοῦς
Εὐτυχοῦς καὶ Μάρκου Ἰουλίου Φιλίππου Γενναιοτάτου καὶ Ἐπιφανεστάτου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστῶν Φαμενώθ.
(m.²) Καλπουρνία Ἡράκλεια ἡ καὶ Εὐδαμία δι' ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλ(ίου) Ἱέρακος γρ(αμ-
ματέως) ἐπιδέδωκα.

/ Θμοινακωμ( ) / Ὀσοροινώφριος
/ Θμοινεψώβθεως / Τυχιννεκώτεως
/ Χοίβεως

(*Back*) ↓ Φοβώου

1 κωμογρ̅ς̅ α̅ κω̅ απη̅ το) 4 βς̅ 6 ἰδιω^τ ας̅′ εναμ) αβροˣ επηνᵈ ας̅′ γ (= γίνονται) αᵝ επη̅ αν̂ ας̅′ 8 αν̂ βς̅′ αβροˣ ς̅′(= ἥμισυ) 10 βαcᵗ αν̂ γς̅′ αᵝ δγ) ιδιˢ ας̅′ αμπ̅ε̅ εκκεκομμ̅ς̅ 11 επηνᵈ ομοῖ ας̅′ α̅ ομοῖ 12 αβροˣ επηνᵈ ομοῖ 13 ωνη̅ γς̅ α̅ αβροˣ α̅ ωνη̅ 14 αβροˣ 15 α̅ αβροˣ εβῆ επηνᵈ ιεβῆ γ κω̅ βαcᵗ 16 αν̂ γς̅′ αβροˣ δγ) ας̅′ αβροˣ α̅ αβροˣ 17 γ αβροˣ επη̅ ας̅′ α̅ γ επη̅ 18 l. Μεν- 20 ιδιˢ ας̅′ εκκεκομ̅ς̅ αᵝ κατοικ αβροˣ 21 επηνᵈ γ ωνη̅ γς̅ αβροˣ ιβς̅ 22 θς̅ γ αβροˣ βαcᵗ αβροˣ γ κ̅ βαcᵗ αν̂ 23 αβροˣ ας̅′ αβροˣ α̅ αᵝ επη̅ α̅ 25 ωνη̅ κγς̅ αᵝ βς̅ ομοῖ 26 κς̅ ομοῖ γ αβροˣ κατοικ αβροˣ επη̅ 27 γ γ κ̅ αᵝ επη̅ 28 γ κωμ̅ βαcᵗ αν̂ αβροˣ ας̅′ αβροˣ α̅ αᵝ 29 γ αβροˣ επη̅ α̅ 30 οσορ̂ κατοικ ἰδι̅ α̅ ωνη̅ ιες̅ αβροˣ 31 κθς̅ αβροˣ λς̅ αᵝ ιβς̅ τιβ′ επη̅ θς̅ αβροˣ 32 γ α̅ αᵝ επη̅ ας̅′ εναμ) αᵝ β̅ μεμιcᶿ 33 ιγς̅ αβροˣ 35 ωνη̅ γς̅ δς̅ γ αᵝ 36 κλη̂ α′ 37 ουεc) 38 κατοικ αᵝ ωνη̅ αβροˣ γ α̅ αᵝ 39 β̅ μεμιcᶿ αᵝ επιβὰ 40 ἰουλιου 41 ἰουλιου 43 αυρ̅ἡ ἱερακος γρ̅ς̅

'Sheet 36

To the comogrammateus of Phobou and other villages in the eastern toparchy, from Calpurnia Heraclia alias Eudamia, daughter of Calpurnius Theon a former Fellow of the Museum, through her secretary Aurelius Hierax:

I register for the present 2nd year land I possess at

THMOENACOM( )

undivided land, (registered) to those of the House of the deified Vespasian and Titus, private land, year 1, under vines,

uninundated	$205\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{10}$ ar.
artificially irrigated, year 1	$13\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}$
total of land uninundated and artificially irrigated, registered year 1	$218\frac{3}{4}$

substandard land, productive, in the category . . ., (registered) to those of the House aforesaid, registered year 2

uninundated	$\frac{1}{2}$

THMOENEPSOBTHIS

undivided land, (registered) to those of the House of the deified Vespasian and Titus:

royal land, registered year 3,		
uninundated	$4\frac{1}{3}$	
private land, year 1, with vines which have been cut down,		
uninundated	$461\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{32}\ \frac{1}{64}$	
artificially irrigated likewise year 1		26
one-artaba land, likewise (registered) to those aforesaid,		
uninundated	$107\frac{3}{4}$	
artificially irrigated likewise (registered) to those		

aforesaid					$280\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{16}$
and registered to Diodorus alias Apollonius, purchased year 3, at one artaba					
uninundated				$9\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{64}\frac{1}{128}$	
further purchased land . . .					
uninundated				4	
and registered to Antiochus son of Sarapion and grandson of Exacon, through his sons, one-artaba land,					
uninundated				$5\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{8}$	
artificially irrigated					10
total = $15\frac{3}{8}\frac{1}{8}$					
Total for the village					
royal land, registered year 3, *uninundated*		$4\frac{1}{43}$			
private land, year 1 *uninundated*			$461\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{32}\frac{1}{64}$		
one-artaba land *uninundated*				$130\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{64}\frac{1}{128}$	
total uninundated			$602\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{64}\frac{1}{128}$		
private land, year 1, 26 ar. *artificially irrigated*					
one-artaba land, $280\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{16}$ *total artificially irrigated*					$306\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{16}$

SCHOEBIS

from the Polynicus estate combined with that of Meniscus and ....taeus, and from the undivided land, (registered) to those of the House of the deified Vespasian and Titus:

private land, year 1, in an area cleared (of vines), *uninundated*	5				
catoecic land *uninundated*		24			
artificially irrigated					27
total 51					
purchased year 3 *uninundated*	4				
year 12 ditto	5				
year 9 ditto	5				
total uninundated		14			
royal land, registered year 3 *uninundated*				10	
Total for the estates					
royal land, registered year 3 *uninundated*				(10)	
private land, year 1 *uninundated*	(5)				
one-artaba land *uninundated*			38		
artificially irrigated					(27)

and from the estate of Epicrates, (registered) to those of the House of the deified Vespasian and Titus:

purchased year 23 *uninundated*		20			
year 2 Tiberius ditto		6			
year 20 ditto		4			
year 19		26			
total uninundated			56		
catoecic land *uninundated*			$66\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}$		
artificially irrigated					$53\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{16}$
total 120					
Total for the estate					
uninundated				$122\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}$	
artificially irrigated					$(53\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{16})$
Total for the village					
royal land, registered year 3 *uninundated*					10
private land, year 1 *uninundated*	5				
one-artaba land *uninundated*				$160\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}$	
Total uninundated			$175\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}$		
artificially irrigated					$80\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{16}$

OSORONNOPHRIOS

catoecic land from the estate of Menodorus, private, at one artaba, purchased year 15 *uninundated*	15	
year 29 *uninundated*	10	
year 30 *uninundated*	25	
year 12 Tiberius *artificially irrigated*		8
year 9 *uninundated*	6	
total one-artaba land *uninundated*	56	
artificially irrigated		8
year 1, former vine-land *uninundated*	5	

two-artaba land, leased hereditarily in year 13, *uninundated*, of 9 ar. those parts which fall to me.

TYCHINNECOTIS

from the lower embankment, (registered) to those of the House of the deified Vespasian and Titus:

purchased year 3	35
year 4	31
total uninundated . . .	66

and from the middle embankment and from areas formerly belonging to the gift-estate of Artemidorus, (registered) to those of the House of the deified Vespasian and Titus:

catoecic land	
uninundated	50
purchased land	
uninundated	114
total one-artaba land	
uninundated	164
two-artaba land, leased hereditarily,	
uninundated, of 2 ar. the part which falls to me.	

Year 2 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Julius Philippus Pius Felix and Marcus Julius Philippus the most noble and illustrious Caesar, Augusti, Phamenoth.

(2nd hand) I, Calpurnia Heraclia alias Eudamia, have submitted (this return) through me, Aur. Hierax, secretary.'

List of villages.

λϛ: for the numbering cf. **1549**; *CdÉ* 38 (1963) 124.

2 *Καλπουρνίας Ἡρακλείας*: she and her father appear again in **3048** 11 f. There is a Calpurnia Heraclia who leases out vineyards at some time in the third century (unpublished *ἐπιδοχή*, dated 'year 2'); there is a Calpurnia whose former property is mentioned in A.D. 269 (PErl. 101, from Oxyrhynchus). Otherwise I find no mention of either father or daughter, though this was clearly a rich office-holding family. Perhaps they were related to L. Calpurnius Gaius (prytanis of Oxyrhynchus in 222) and his son L. Calpurnius Firmus: for these and their connections see **2723** 1 note, **2848** introd.

3 *ϲειτηθέντων*: list by N. Lewis, *Mnemosyne*, 1963, p. 257; add **3047** and PMichShelton 620. 2.

4 *Θμ[οινακωμ( )*: see on 44.

5 *ἀγυοτομήτου*: again 9 and 19; the word is not attested elsewhere. I suppose it means 'not divided into fields'. 'And would not this in turn mean by implication "not equipped with the usual dikes, canals, etc. for the reception of the flood"? It is not surprising if the greater part of such land is reported as *ἄβροχος*, and only a small portion is rendered productive by artificial irrigation' (Youtie).

εἰϲ: understand *ϲωματιζομένην*, as e.g. PMich. VI 367. 12: the land is 'registered to' the lessees, that is, they are responsible for the taxes; **1113** i 17 note.

τοὺϲ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου: an *οἶκοϲ* of Alexandria PFay. 87. 5 (*ἐπιτηρηταὶ ὑπαρχόντων οἴκου*); an *οἶκοϲ* of Antinoopolis PSI 449. 6 (it owns *γήδια*); an *οὐϲία οἴκου καίϲαροϲ* PLips. 96. 3. BGU 1182 mentions *τοὺϲ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου* (of Alexandria?) leasing out land.

Vespasian and Titus certainly owned estates in Egypt: PBour. 42. 78, 96 etc.; BGU 1894. 93 ff.; Tomsin, *Studi Calderini Paribeni* ii 223. It looks as if *οἶκοϲ* was the still surviving designation of some or all of these estates. Prof. Youtie suggests that the persons mentioned are tenants of the former estate who have taken on land from Calpurnia Heraclia as a group (for such groups compare the *πιττάκιον* of e.g. PCairIsid. 24. 1).

6 *ἐν ἀμπ(έλοιϲ)*: cf. 10, 32. In the last passage this resolution fits rather awkwardly (after *ἀπό*). We should perhaps consider *ἐναμπ(ελικοῦ)* as an alternative; but the adjective is not attested, except perhaps at PSI 1328. 49 *ἐκ τοῦ Διονυϲοδώρου [κ]λήρου ϲντο. . . .λικου εναμπελ[. .]ου ἀρουρῶν δέκα.*

ἀν(αγραφεῖϲαι) α (ἔτουϲ): cf. 8, 10, 16, 22, 28. Here the phrase corresponds to the simple *α (ἔτ.)* earlier in the line. This makes it clear that the years cited are years of acquisition/registration; they do not date the condition (uninundated etc.) of the plot described.

7 *ὑπολ[ό]γου ἐνφόρου*: substandard land which has been improved into production. Prof. Youtie remarks that PBeattyPanop. 2. 128 f. describes precisely such land: *περὶ τῆϲ ἐϲϲπαρμένηϲ ἀπὸ ὑπολόγου ἀφόρου.*

τῶν παρ. .ια.[. .].ϲκεπομένων: *ἐ]ηεϲκεμμένων* is not a possible reading; neither is *ἐ]ηιϲκεπ⟨τ⟩ομένων*. Palaeographically the most likely readings are *τωνπαρ. .ιαϛ* [(as if *α (ἔτουϲ)*, followed by a numeral- or abbreviation-stroke); then *]ηϲκεπομενων*.

9 *Θμοινεψώβθεωϲ*: **1659** 55 etc.

10 *ἐκκεκομμ(εν)*: cf. 20; PFouad 67. 12 *ἀπὸ ἐκκεκομμένων ἀμπέλ[ων] καὶ παραδε⟨ίϲ⟩ων*; PRyl. 207a. 33 *ἀπὸ ἐκκεκομμ(ένου)*; PLeit. 16. 8 f. *ἐξ ὅλων ἐκκ[ε]κομμένου ἀρουρῶν δύο*. This cutting naturally put the land in a lower category for taxation: **2847** i 5–7.

11 *(μοναρτάβου)*: for the adjective e.g. **2473** 18, PSI 1328. 47; the editors of **1459** and **1549** preferred the resolution *α (ἀρτάβηϲ)*. One-artaba land is a substantive category: thus in **1044** it is distinguished from *βαϲιλική*, and in PSI 1328. 47 ff. from *ὠνημένη*. But it overlaps others, as is clear from the totals in this document: 23–9 (*ἐπηντλημένη*) *μοναρτάβου ἀρ. κζ+κατοικικῆϲ ἀρ. νγ (ἥμιϲυ) ἰϛ = μοναρτάβου ἀρ. π (ἥμιϲυ) ἰϛ*; 38 *κατοικικῆϲ ἀρ. ν+ὠνημένηϲ ἀρ. ριδ = μοναρτάβου ἀρ. ρξδ*. For catoecic land at one artaba cf. **3046**, SB 9866 and PTebt. 324, corrected in PFamTebt. 51. 15 n.; the rate in general is discussed by Préaux, *CdÉ* 38 (1963) 131.

13 *ὠνη(μένηϲ)*: cf. 21, 25, 30, 35, 38. For the omission of the syllabic augment in this form, Dr. Gignac refers me to PMich. 254 and 255, line 3; **270** 19 etc.; **346**; PSI 1328. 50.

ὠνη(μένηϲ). .: the first of the doubtful letters looks like *α*; but the second suits neither ϛ (*α ἔτουϲ*) nor ⸗ (*μοναρτάβου*).

16 *ρλϟξδρκ[η]*: the correct figure is $126\frac{3}{4}\ \frac{1}{64}\ \frac{1}{128}$. That is, he counted the four arouras (line 14) twice.

17 *χβdηξδρκη*: the correct figure would be $461\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{32}\ \frac{1}{64} + 130\frac{3}{4}\ \frac{1}{64}\ \frac{1}{128} = 592\ \frac{1}{16}\ \frac{1}{128}$. (This assumes the two sub-totals to be correct, though the second is in fact wrong, see 16 note.) Youtie saw that 10 ar. of *ἐπηντλημένη* (line 15) was mistakenly counted in; the discrepancy of the fractions may be a simple blunder. The total for *ἐπηντλημένη* ($306\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{16}$) is accordingly 10 ar. short.

18 *Ϲχοίβεωϲ*: the same village **2583** 25 (where the reading is thus confirmed).

22 . . .( ) *γιϛ*: here, and at the end of the line, and again in 28, *γιϛ* is a copying error for *γϛ'*, i.e. *γ (ἔτουϲ)*. At the second and third places, the word preceding is *ἀν(αγραφεῖϲαι)*, as the formula requires. . . .( ) equally must represent an original *ἀν(αγραφεῖϲαι)*; but the copyist has blundered and produced something which looks most like *γονῦ*.

25 After '2 Tiberius' we have years '20' and '19': i.e. 20 and 19 Augustus (strict reverse chronological order)? or 20 Tiberius and 19 Augustus (allowing normal chronological order within a single reign)? Not 20 and 19 Caracalla, unless the sequence is jumbled.

30 *Ὀϲοροννώφριοϲ*: the scribe has written an arc-shaped sign over the first *rho*: normally a mark of abbreviation, here perhaps to separate the two parts of the Egyptian compound. The sign is not repeated in 44. This village is not in *WB* III or *WBSuppl.* Prof. Youtie remarks that the word occurs, in the form *Ὀϲορνῶφρι*, as a title of Osiris (see PWarren 21. 3); and suggests that the village was a dependency of a temple of Osiris.

κατοικ(ικῆϲ): the scribe wrote *βαϲι*, then altered the first three letters to *κατο*. The old category coexists with *ἰδιωτική* later in the line, cf. Roberts and Skeat, *Aeg.* 13 (1933) 466.

32 *(διαρτάβου)*: cf. **2473** 19, where corn-land from the *κλῆροϲ* of Rhodon and Agasicrates is divided between *μονάρταβοϲ* and *διάρταβοϲ*; **1031** 12.

32–3 *μεμιϲθ(ωμεν) εἰϲ τὰ πάτρια*: cf. Lenger, *Corp. Ord. Ptol.* 53. 11 f. (royal ordinances of 118 B.C.) *πλὴν τῶν μεμιϲθωμένων εἰϲ τὸ πατρικὸν [καὶ] ὧν δ[ι]εγγύ(ημα) ὑπάρχει*; a similar provision ib. 34 i 17 (PKroll, discussed by Koenen, *Ptolemäische Königsurkunde* 25). PHarris 138 i 24 (1st century A.D.) has *εἰϲ τὰ πάτρια* by itself; PPetaus 44. 13 (later 2nd cent.) *μεμιϲθ. εἰϲ τὰ π(ατρικά)*. **3047** is still later than these. It might be thought that the phrase refers merely to a fossilized Ptolemaic land-category. But if *τῷ ιγ (ἔτει)* goes with what precedes, the lease was clearly a real one, contracted in 233/4 (13 Alexander Severus). The participle *μεμιϲθ(ωμεν)* is obviously passive, of the land leased; in *Corp.*

Ord. 53 it is normally taken as personal ('les fermiers qui ont un bail héréditaire et qui ont fourni caution'), which indeed the context suggests.

34 *Τυχιννεκώτεως*: **1659** 54 etc.

35 *α.....( )*: *αἱ οὖσαι* [36] *κλη(ρουχικαὶ)* (Rea) makes excellent sense; but a high trace at the end of 35 (as of a suspended letter) remains unaccounted for. Alternatively, an abbreviated proper name *Α.....( )* and then *κλή(ρου)*; *Ἀρτεμιδ(ώρου)* (cf. 37) is not satisfactory.

36 f. The same embankment and estate in **280** 10.

44 ff. Each village has been checked off with a slanting stroke. *Θμοινακωμ( )* is not attested elsewhere. The superscript final letter looks like *mu*, rather than an undifferentiated abbreviation-stroke.

3048. Proclamation of *Iuridicus* and Registration of Corn

Plate XII

23 3B.13/E (3) a — 15·5 × 34 cm. — 17–18 March 246

This text is written across the fibres on the back of **3028**; in the upper margin of **3028** are two short lines of cursive, which might doubtfully be read as a docket to **3048**: *ἀ(ντίγραφον) ἀ̣π̣ο̣γ̣ρ(αφῆς) κ̣α̣ὶ π̣ρ̣ο̣γ̣ρ(άμματος)*. Basically, then, a sheet or roll of official correspondence was cut down and reused. But some further process seems to have intervened: there is a heavy *kollesis* to the left of **3048** (extending under the first two or three letters of each line), and this additional strip shows occasional line-ends from some previous writing.

The text has two parts, both written by the same hand:

1–9: proclamation of the *iuridicus* Aurelius Tiberius, requiring that all private stocks of corn in the city and nome (of Oxyrhynchus) be registered within twenty-four hours; in case of evasion, the treasury will confiscate both the corn and the house in which it is found. Date: 17 March A.D. 246.

10–24: registration submitted on the following day (18 March) by Calpurnia Heraclia alias Eudamia: corn held by her at five villages in the lower and eastern toparchies, to the total of 5,045 artabas less amounts already committed for wages and other expenditure.

The proclamation presupposes a shortage of corn around Oxyrhynchus. The same situation had already been deduced from other documents of about the same date: in PErl. 18, of 27 October 248, the prytanis refers to supplies for the city, to the prevailing *στενοχωρία*, to gymnasiarchs discharging the eutheniarchy; **1418** mentions appointments to the eutheniarchy in A.D. 247; **2854** shows a gymnasiarch refusing the eutheniarchy on 12 November 248. (See N. Lewis, *BASP* 7 (1970) 114.) **3048** shows just how severe the crisis was at one stage: so severe that the regime resorted to compulsory purchase at prices which would have been high even for the private market (6 note).

Shortage on this scale suggests a low Nile, or perhaps a series. There might be evidence for this in **3046** and **3047**, declarations of land uninundated for 244/5: if, that is, the flood of 244 was defective, there will have been a poor harvest in 245; grain is always scarce, and prices high, in March, just before the new harvest; in March 246, with only the remnants of a poor crop, the shortage would have been severe. The argument is plausible but uncertain; it assumes that such declarations were

made only for bad years; against this see PMich. VI pp. 9 f. (D. Bonneau, *Le Fisc et le Nil* 59 and 256, classifies the flood of 244 as 'good'; but her evidence is ambiguous.)

The proclamation requires private stocks to be registered; lines 10–24 contain a copy of a registration duly submitted by Calpurnia Heraclia through her guardians. The whole sheet will be a private copy for the use of her agents. This explains the use of scrap papyrus; and the abbreviated dates in 9 and 24.

Here too I am greatly indebted to Professor Youtie.

↓ *ἐξ αὐθεντείας Αὐρηλίου Τιβερίου τοῦ κρατίστου δικαιοδότου.*
ὅσοι σεῖτον ἔχουσι ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐν τ[ῷ] νομῷ, ἀπογραψά-
σθωσαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔχειν τὰς τροφὰς καὶ τὰς
δημοσίας χρείας ἀνυσθῆναι εστιν τῆς αὔριον ἥτις ἐστὶν
5 *Φαμενὼθ κβ″ τοῦ ἀζημίου αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχοντος, λήμψεται γὰρ*
τὴν τειμὴν ἣν ὥρισεν ὁ λαμπρότατος ἡμῶν ἡγεμὼν (δηναρίων) ς̄,
γεινώσκοντες ὅτι ἐάν τις εὑρεθῇ μὴ ἀπογραψάμενος οὐ
μόνον ὁ πυρὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ οἰκία ἔνθα εὑρίσκεται ἐκδικηθήσεται
τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμιείῳ. (ἔτους) γ″ Φαμενὼθ κα¯.
10 *ἀ(ντίγραφον) ἀπογρ(αφῆς).*
Αὐρηλ(ίῳ) Τιβερίῳ τῷ κρα(τίστῳ) δικαιοδότῃ π(αρὰ) Καλπουρνίας Ἡρακλείας τῆς καὶ Εὐδαμίας
θυγατρὸς Καλπουρνίου Θέωνος τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ σειτηθέντων καὶ ὡς ἐχρημάτιζεν διὰ Αὐρηλίου Πε̣κ̣ύ̣λλ̣ο̣[υ] τοῦ κ(αὶ) Θέωνος γυμνασιαρχήσαντος πρυτανεύσαντος βουλ(ευτοῦ)
τῆς Ὀξυρυγχ(ειτῶν) πόλ(εως) καὶ Χαιρήμ(ονος) τοῦ κ(αὶ) Δημητ( ) καὶ ὡς χρημ(ατίζει) ἐπιτρόπων· ἀπογράφομαι κατὰ
15 *τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ σοῦ ὃν ἔχω πυρὸν ὑπὸ πραγματευτὰς* (*vac.*)
ἐν μὲν κτήσει μου περὶ Σοῦιν (ἀρτ.) *Ἐκ ἐν δὲ τῷ Δωσιθέου* (ἀρτ.) *σμε* ...
καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰσίου Τρύφω(νος) (ἀρτ.) *σκ καὶ ἐν Θμοινεψώ(βθει)* (ἀρτ.) *υξ καὶ ἐν Λίλη* (ἀρτ.) *σπ*
κ]αὶ ἐν τῷ Σατύρου [(ἀρτ.)] ϙκ ...
ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν προκ[ειμ]ένων δίδονται μηνιαῖαι συντάξεις πραγματευταῖς τε
20 *καὶ φροντισταῖ[ς καὶ] γεωργοῖς καὶ παιδαρίοις καὶ καταμηνείοις,*
καὶ ἐν τῷ Σατύρου ..[..].....συ.αλλαγεῖσαι ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ διελθόντος μηνὸς
Μεχ[εὶ]ρ Κ̣ο̣πρεῖ κ[αὶ ..]π̣ῶτι μ̣α̣γείρ̣ο̣ις τῆς πόλεως διὰ τὸ ἐκ παλαιότητος
τ[ὸ] ἔλεον διεφθάρθ[αι] (ἀρτ.) *σπζ.*
(*ἔτους*) *γ″ Φ[α]μ̣ε̣ν̣ὼθ κβ¯.*

6 * 7 γεινωσκ-: κ corr. from χ 9 ἱερ- 10 α απογρ̣ 11 αυρ̣ὴ κρ̣ 13 τουˣ βουˡ 14 οξυρυγχ πο^λ χαιρῆ τουˣ δημη^τ χρῆ 16 ουῖν 17 ἴσιου τρυφ̣ῶ θμοινεψ̣ῶ 23 l. ἔλαιον

'On the authority of Aurelius Tiberius the most excellent *iuridicus*:

All those who have corn in the city or in the nome, are to register (it), so that not only can the city have its supplies but also the public necessities can be fulfilled—tomorrow, which is Phamenoth 22—without sustaining any loss thereby, for one will receive the price which our most illustrious prefect has fixed i.e. 6 denarii—with the knowledge that if anyone is discovered not to have registered it, not only the corn but also the house in which it is found will be confiscated to the most sacred treasury. Year 3, Phamenoth 21.

Copy of return:

To Aurelius Tiberius the most excellent *iuridicus*, from Calpurnia Heraclia alias Eudamia, daughter of Calpurnius Theon a former Fellow of the Museum and however else he was styled, acting through Aurelius Pecyllus alias Theon, former gymnasiarch and prytanis, senator of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, and Chaeremon alias Demet... and however he is styled, her guardians: I register in accordance with orders given by you the corn which I possess in the hands of my agents:

in my holding around Suis, 3,020 artabas; in Dositheu, 245 art....; in Iseum Tryphonis 220 art.; in Thmoenepsobthis 460 art.; in Lile 280 art.; in Satyru 820 art....—Out of the above-mentioned, monthly allowances are given to the agents and stewards and farmers and boys and monthly workers. And in Satyru ..... already pledged(?) from the past month Mecheir to Copres and [ ]pos, cooks in the city, because the oil has gone bad from long keeping, 287 artabas.

Year 3, Phamenoth 22.'

1 ἐξ αὐθεντείας: see **2664** 1 note; **3050** i 7.

Αὐρηλίου Τιβερίου: no doubt identical with the *iuridicus* Cl. Aurelius Tiberius who honours the Philippi in an inscription from Philippopolis, *Ann. Ép.* 1908, no. 274. This identification, and the mention of Calpurnia Heraclia (11 note), make it likely that the third year mentioned (9, 24) is that of Philip. The proclamation therefore dates from 17 March 246.

3–7 Something is wrong with the grammar. I assume that the words from ὑπὲρ τοῦ to ἀνυσθῆναι form a unit of two parallel clauses; and that γεινώσκοντες in 7 refers back to ἀπογραψάσθωσαν. Then we must assume a parenthesis. It might begin with 4 ἔστιν τῆς αὔριον (which will have to mean 'this can be done tomorrow'), and end with line 6. More probably it begins with 5 λήμψεται, and ends with 6; in that case εστιν τῆς αὔριον is a mistake (by anticipation) for ἐπὶ or ἐντὸς τῆς αὔριον. Whichever view is taken, λήμψεται must be simple error for λήμψονται. The sentence in general is an oddly compressed way of putting two separate notions: the registration of stocks, and the compulsory purchase of these stocks.

3 τὴν πόλιν: to judge from line 2, this city is Oxyrhynchus rather than Alexandria. It seems to follow that the proclamation was issued separately to each nome, or to this nome only.

4 δημοσίας χρείας: the phrase normally means 'liturgical duties' (W. *Chr.* 35 i 7, ii 1 and vso. 1; PMey. 8. 15; PFamTebt. 24. 54). It is not clear how the registration of corn would help the performance of these liturgies, except indirectly by assisting those concerned with collecting the *annona*. Youtie suggests that the point is much more basic: the government is trying to provide a subsistence for state officials, because even they are in danger of going hungry.

6 (δηναρίων) $\bar{\varsigma}$: 24 drachmas: for one artaba, presumably (the original proclamation must have stated this; the copyist has abridged, as he did the dates in 9 and 24). The price is high. We have two groups of comparative material:

prices in the normal market (Johnson, *Roman Egypt* 311; PSarapion p. 332)

PLond. 1226	A.D. 254 (?)	12 dr.
BGU 14	255	16
PErl. 101	269	24

prices for πυρὸς συναγορασικός

2958	A.D. 99	16
2960	100	8
PSI 1262	137	8
PTebt. 394	149	7
2961–7	154	8

By the standards of compulsory purchase, then, 24 dr. per artaba is (even allowing for a century of gentle inflation since A.D. 154) a very stiff price; well above the norm of the open market at this date, and up to the level reached in the inflation of the 260s.

8 ὁ πυρός: this shows that σεῖτον in 2 has the restricted meaning 'wheat', not the wider meaning 'grain'. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 95.

11 Καλπουρνίας Ἡρακλείας: see **3047** 2 note.

13 Πεκ̣ύ̣λλο[υ]: this reading (by Dr. Rea) is supported by **1526** 9, which mentions a Πέκυλλος ὁ καὶ Θέων γυμ(νασιαρχήσας) in A.D. 222/3; and by POslo 111, which has him as prytanis in 234/5.

16 ff. Suis, Dositheu, and Isium Tryphonis are in the lower toparchy; Thmoenepsobthis, Lile, and Satyru in the eastern toparchy. In **3047** Heraclia declares uninundated land in five villages, all in the eastern toparchy; these include Thmoenepsobthis.

16 (ἀρτ.) σμε ...: the signs which follow the numeral recur, isolated, at the end of 18. We might expect a fraction; or a summation beginning with γ(ίνονται). But I can find no convincing reading on these lines; and in any case neither suits 18. Prof. Youtie suggests that the original declaration had formulaic annotations by some official who checked the figures; the scribe of our copy failed to understand them, and simply drew what he thought he saw.

20 καταμηνείοις: e.g. **2155** 8. The noun originally supplied was perhaps γεωργοί (PCZ IV 59–736. 36).

21 This is a new section, parallel with 16–18 (whereas 19–20 and 22–3 are further indented, to show that they merely continue what precedes). The 287 artabas are additional. They have some special status, somehow to do with two cooks from Oxyrhynchus and with oil which has gone rancid with age.

The crucial difficulty is the reading of the participle in line 21. Given that the letter before αλλαγεισαι could be either ν or π, the possibilities are: (1a)]..... συναλλαγεῖσαι, (1b)]... προσυαλλαγεῖσαι; (2a)].....c ὑπαλλαγεῖσαι, (2b)]... προσυπαλλαγεῖσαι. The objection to (1b) and (2b) is, that the verbs are not elsewhere attested. The objection to (1a) and (2a) is, that προς- is a very plausible (though hardly a certain) reading; and πρό(c) cannot be left in isolation.

If (1) were right, the corn was 'contracted' to the cooks, in place of oil which the estate had contracted to supply; if (2), it was mortgaged to them, in place of oil on which they had some kind of lien.

There remains the word(s) after Σατύρου. The traces suggest σπ̣.[..].α̣ι; c might be e.g. ε, π might be e.g. ν;]. is the end of a high horizontal or linking stroke. Possibly ἐπρ̣[ι]κ̣(ίρω) αἱ προς- (Rea).

3049. Deposit of Grain

19 2B.76/F (4–5) b 13×29 cm. 26 January/24 February 247

This sheet carries two versions of the same text. **A** is written along the fibres in a good hand without abbreviations; **B** is written on the back, across the fibres, in a hasty hand with many abbreviations and several interlinear additions. It might seem that **B** is the draft (it omits the final date-clause), and **A** the fair copy. Against this there are two considerations. (*a*) **B** has a number of important details which **A** omits. (*b*) The papyrus is torn in such a way as to bisect the first letter in each line of **A**; whereas the lines of **B** generally end well short of the edge. This may suggest that **B**

was written after **A**, and a subsequent tearing of the papyrus: and indeed we should expect the verso text to be the later. In that case **A** is the first draft, and **B** the second. Neither is the finished document, for the quantity of corn is not specified (a blank at **A** 10–11, *ποcάc* at **B** 14).

In the space below **A** are two notes, written across the fibres. The first, perhaps by the same hand as the main text, reads:

τιc ἐπιγέγραμμαι αὐτῆc κύριοc ⟦*και επε*⟧ *`cυνχωρη-'*
`θεὶc αὐτῇ' καὶ ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆc μὴ εἰδυείηc
γράμματ(α) ⟦*καὶ επερ*⟧

This is an unfinished draft subscription, designed perhaps for the guardian Callinicus (**A** 4–6) but expressed as a general formulary with *τιc* (cf. e.g. **2677**). The second note, in a different hand and upside-down in relation to the first, reads *κοί̣ττ̣τ̣ε–υπολο̣γ̣θ̣.νων*: perhaps *κοῖτ(αι) τπε ὑπολόγ(ου)* (after this e.g. *θ̣ι̣ψων* or *θ* (*ἔτουc*) *νων*; or *θ* might be *α*: no possibility makes obvious sense).

The main text is a contract of deposit for a certain quantity of corn. PStrass. **I** 54 and PFouad 58 are similar contracts; **1472** is an application to the archidicastes for the recovery of such a deposit. The formulae follow normal lines: see **2677** and the introduction there. But the situation here envisaged is abnormal, for it straddles the private and the public domain: (*a*) the grain deposited includes 'the additional percentages' (**A** 11, **B** 16); (*b*) it is to be delivered, not to the depositor, but *τοῖc ἐπιcταληcομένοιc ναυκλήροιc* (**A** 12, **B** 15); (*c*) the depositor is to receive a receipt for the grain once delivered. It is clear, then, that the corn is state corn, part of the *annona*; it is to be handed over to shippers sent from Alexandria for it; the depositor Asclepiades is still responsible for the consignment (**B** 18), but the actual delivery is carried out by Didymus-Antonius and the others with whom the deposit is made; the shippers transmit through them to Asclepiades receipts for the amount delivered. Many such receipts survive, and illustrate the process: **2670** 1 and note.

This deposit, then, is a stage in the transmission of the *annona* from the responsible official to the shippers. Asclepiades was responsible, because he held office as decaprotus of the middle toparchy, and the corn was stored at Nemerae in the same toparchy: these details are given only in **B**. He here delegates part at least of his responsibility; this arrangement is unique in the surviving documents about the shipment of the *annona*; one wonders why it should have been necessary, and what profit Didymus-Antonius and the others made from the transaction, which is at their own expense.

The decaprotus took over the functions of the sitologus. The office is first attested for Oxyrhynchus by this document, for the Hermopolite in W. *Chr.* 375 of 246, for Philadelphia in PLeit. 16 of 244/7. I have suggested in *JRS* 57 (1967) 136 f. that it was first created, at least as a universal institution, as part of a wider reorganization under Philip the Arabian. The object of the reorganization was to increase the yield of the *annona*, and to facilitate its collection and transport; it may have been prompted by the

shortage which, in Oxyrhynchus at least, threatened the state's requirements in March 246 (**3048**). If the decaproteia was created to meet a crisis, we should be able to explain why it is held here by the most important man in the town (the prytanis), whose avocations made it necessary to contract with three other members of the buleutic class to perform the duties for him.

A

→ *Αὐρήλιοι Δίδυμοc ὁ καὶ Ἀντώνιοc βουλευ[τ]ῆc τῆc Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεωc καὶ Πά..ac ὁ καὶ Δίδυμοc καὶ Ἀμμωνοῦc οἱ τρεῖc Cαραπάμμωνοc Φανίου γυμνακιαρχήcαντοc τῆc Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεωc ἡ δὲ Ἀμμωνοῦc μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ δεδομένου αὐτῇ*
5 *κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη τοῦ ἑτέρου αὐτῶν ἀδελφοῦ Αὐρηλίου Καλλινείκου Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀcκληπιάδῃ γυμνακιαρχήcαντι ἐνάρχῳ πρυτάνει βουλευτῇ τῆc αὐτῆc πόλεωc χαίρειν. ὁμολογοῦμεν ἔχειν cου ἐν παραθέcει πυ[ρ]οῦ γενήματοc τοῦ διελθόντοc γ (ἔτουc) Μάρκων Ἰουλίων Φιλίππων καιcάρων τῶν*
10 *κυρίων μέτρῳ δημοcίῳ ἡμιαρταβίῳ ἀρτάβαc* *vac.*
vac. *cὺν ταῖc ἑπομέναιc ἑκατοcταῖc, ἃc καὶ παραδώcομεν τοῖc ἐπιcταληcομένοιc ναυκλήροιc ἰδίαιc ἡμῶν δαπάναιc, καὶ τούτων ἀποχάc cοι ἐποίcομεν ἄνευ πάcηc ὑπερθέcεωc καὶ εὑρηcιλογίαc, εἰ δὲ*
15 *μή, ἐκτείcομέν cοι κατὰ τὸν τῶν παραθηκῶν νόμον, τῆc πράξεωc cοι οὔcηc παρά τε ἡμῶν ἀλληλεγγύων ὄντων εἰc ἔκτειcιν καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἐὰν ἡμῶν αἱρῇ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμεῖν πάντων· κύριον τὸ χειρόγραφον διccὸν γραφὲν πανταχῇ ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παντὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ coῦ ἐπιφέρον-*
20 *τι, καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντεc ὑπὸ coῦ ὡμολογήcαμεν. (ἔτουc) δ' Αὐτοκράτοροc Καίcαροc Μάρκου Ἰουλίου Φιλίππ[ου] Εὐcεβοῦc Εὐτυχοῦc καὶ Μάρκου Ἰουλίου Φιλίππου Γενναιοτάτου καὶ Ἐπιφανεcτάτ[ου] Καίcαροc Cεβαcτῶν Μεχείρ.*

9 ἰουλιων 13 ἰδιαιc 14 ὑπερ- 17 ὑπαρχ- 19 ὑπερ 21 ἰουλιου

B

↓ *Αὐρήλιοι Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ Ἀντώνιος*
βουλευτ(ὴς) τῆς Ὀξυρυγχ(ειτῶν) πόλ(εως) καὶ Πάλλας ὁ καὶ Δί-
δυμος καὶ Ἀμμωνοῦς οἱ γ⁻ Ϛαραπ⟨άμ⟩μωνος
Φανίου γυμνα(ϲιαρχήϲαντος) τῆς ⟦Ὀξυρυγχ(ειτῶν)⟧ 'α(ὐτῆς)' πόλεως, ἡ δὲ
5 *Ἀμμωνοῦς μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ δεδομένου αὐτῇ*
κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη {τοῦ δεδομένου
αὐτῇ κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη} τοῦ ἑτέρου
αὐτῷ ἀδελφοῦ Καλλινείκου Α(ὐρηλίῳ) Ἀϲκληπι⟨ά⟩δῃ
γυμνα(ϲιαρχήϲαντι) ἐνάρχ(ῳ) πρυτ(άνει) βου(λευτῇ) τῆς α(ὐτῆς) πόλ(εωϲ) δεκα-
10 *πρώτῳ μέϲης τοπ(αρχίαϲ) χαίρειν. ὁμολογοῦμεν*
ἔχειν ϲου ἐν παραθέϲει (πυροῦ) γενήμα(τοϲ) τοῦ διε(λθόντοϲ) γ (ἔτουϲ)
Μάρκων Ἰουλίων Φιλίππων καιϲάρων τῶν
κυρίων ϲεβαϲτῶν ἐν κώμῃ Νεμέρᾳιϲ
μέτρῳ δημοϲίῳ (ἡμιαρταβίῳ) ἀρτάβ(αϲ) ποϲὰϲ γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) *vac.*
15 *καὶ ταύταϲ παραδώϲομεν τοῖϲ ἐπιϲταληϲο-*
μένοιϲ ναυκλήροιϲ '⟦ναυκλή(ροιϲ) ἐπὶ τῆϲ ⸏αὐτῆϲ Νεμ⟧' ϲὺν ταῖϲ ἑπομέναιϲ
ἑ̅κ̅ατοϲ-
ταῖϲ ταῖϲ ἰδίαιϲ ἡμῶν δαπάναιϲ αἳ ἐὰν
γείνωνται '⟦ἐπὶ τῆϲ αὐτῆϲ Νεμερῶν⟧' ϲοῦ μόνον ἐπακολουθοῦντοϲ
καὶ τούτων ἀποχάϲ ϲοι ἐποίϲομεν καθαρὰϲ
20 *ἀπὸ πάντων 'ἐπὶ τῆϲ α(ὐτῆϲ) Νεμερῶν' τῆϲ πράξεωϲ ϲοι οὔϲηϲ*
παρά τε ἡμῶν ἀλληλεγγύων ὄντων
εἰϲ ἔκτειϲιν καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἐὰν ἡμῶν αἱρῇ
καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν πάντων.
κύριον τὸ χειρόγραφον διϲϲὸν γραφὲν
25 *πανταχῇ ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παντὶ τῷ*
ὑπὲρ ϲοῦ ἐπιφέροντι, καὶ ἐπερωτηθέν-
τεϲ ὑπὸ ϲοῦ ὡμολογήϲαμεν.

2 βουλευ^τ οξυρυγ^χ πο̅ 4 γυμναϛ οξυρυγ^χ α⁻ 8 α⁻ 9 γυμναϛ εναρ^χ πρυτϛ
βου⁻ α⁻ πο̅ 10 το) 11 ⊀ γενημαϛ διε⁻ γϛ 12 ἰου- 14 ϛ'αρταβ /-
17 ἰδιαιϲ 20 α⁻ 21 -εγ'γυων

(Translation of **B**) 'The Aurelii Didymus alias Antonius, senator of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, and Pallas alias Didymus, and Ammonous, all three children of Sarapammon son of Phanias, former gymnasiarch of the said city, Ammonous with the guardian assigned to her in accordance with the customs of the Romans, (namely) their other brother Callinicus: to Aurelius Asclepiades former gymnasiarch, prytanis in office and senator of the said city, decaprotus of the middle toparchy: greetings.

We acknowledge that we hold from you on deposit, of the corn of the produce of the past 3rd year of the Marci Julii Philippi Caesares our lords the Augusti, in the village Nemerae, by the public half-artaba measure, such-and-such a quantity. And this we will hand over to the ships' captains who shall be sent for it, together with the percentages attaching, at our own expense whatever the expense may be: you are to exercise supervision (in this delivery), but nothing more (?). And for this (corn) we shall present you with receipts, free from any kind of flaw, at the said Nemerae; you have the right of execution upon us, who guarantee one another mutually for payment, and upon whichever of us you choose, and upon all our possessions. This chirograph is valid, being written in two copies, wherever it is produced and for whoever produces it on your behalf, and in answer to your question we have made acknowledgement.'

A 2 *Πα̣.̣ac*: the scribe wrote *Παϲλαϲ* or *Παϲταϲ*; whereas **B** 2 certainly has *Παλλαϲ* or *Παττασ*. *Παϲταϲ* and *Παττασ* might be alternative spellings of a single name (PPetaus. 10. 6 n.), but neither is known to *NB* or *Onomasticum*. I assume that *Πάλλαϲ* is correct in **B**, and miswritten in **A**.

2–3 Sarapammon is not in Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarches*.

6–7 Asclepiades is here prytanis, in Mecheir 247. He appears as ex-prytanis in proceedings of Thoth 247 (**1418**). Presumably his successor took office on 1 Thoth. See A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils of Roman Egypt* 63.

11–12 *ἑκατοϲταῖϲ*: cf. **2670** 34–6 note.

B 18 *ἐπακολουθοῦντοϲ*: in some of the receipts issued by shippers, the grain is said to have been loaded *ἐπακολουθούντων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆϲ ἐμβολῆϲ τεταγμένων καὶ ὧν ἄλλων δέον ἐϲτίν* (PSI 1053; **2125** 12; probably **1259** 20). Asclepiades is still strictly responsible for the grain, and must therefore provide his *ἐπακολούθηϲιϲ*; but that is all (*μόνον*), the rest of the work falls to Didymus-Antonius and the others. Alternatively, *μόνον* might emphasize *ϲοῦ*: 'You, and no one else, have the right of *ἐπακολούθηϲιϲ*.'

3050. Proclamation and Official Letters

19 2B.75/K (4) a 11×31·5 cm. Third century

Remains of two columns, the second at full height and the first nearly so. The sheet was cut down, so that only line-ends and line-beginnings remain; the initial lacuna in col. i is of *c.* 50 letters. The cut-down sheet was used for an account of jars, **3081** below. It was at this stage, presumably, that a single unfinished line was written between the two columns and at right angles to them; its beginning was hatched out, and the rest deleted with a single horizontal line. It reads: ⟦*c.* 17⟧ ⟦*καὶ τῶν λεχθέντων ἀπὸ μὲν α̣.[...].λου φορίμηϲ καὶ τῶν περι*⟧.

The script of col. ii is more upright and less rapid than that of col. i: probably a different writer.

The main text is a collection of official documents:

i 9–27 proclamation of Marcellus and Salutaris (*c.* 246–8) *περί τε παροριϲμῶν [καὶ* ; a procedure is laid down for those who have such encroachments to complain of; the procedure involves decaproti and horiodeictae. There is some similarity with PLeit. 16, of 244/7, in which the petitioners complain of being assigned too much land (and the tax on it) in the registers; they appeal to the decaproti, invoking orders of Marcellus and Salutaris (ll. 24–5); the procedure is, that the comogrammateus and

horiodeictes should assist in a fresh survey of the disputed areas. Both exaggerations and encroachments have to be rectified, if the land-register is to be strictly accurate; and Marcellus and Salutaris perhaps had a special interest in an up-to-date survey of their province's resources (*JRS* 57 (1967) 135). It is even possible that **3050** dealt with both topics; at least *τε* suggests that something parallel with *παρορισμῶν* followed. In that case, this proclamation might be the one referred to in PLeit. 16. 24–5.

What follows is much more obscure. *χαίρειν* i 35 begins a letter; *ἐνέτυχον* ii 7, if first person, suggests a petitioner reviewing the past history of his case.

ii 29–35 and 38–43 are letters of Lissenius Proculus. Before the first is a heading, or possibly another short letter (ii 26–8). Before the second are two lines of connecting narrative. Nothing certain offers in the content except 37 *τοὺς ἀφήλικα*[*c*.

Lissenius Proculus appears as acting prefect in PSI 870. This office normally falls to the *iuridicus*. The date is quite uncertain: PSI 870 was assigned 'to the second rather than to the third century' on palaeographic grounds. **3050** might contribute to the problem, if we could determine the link between the different items copied.

If the collection is a collection of precedents, the items may be widely separated in time. I see no way of excluding this possibility. But the length of the pieces quoted, and the connecting lines ii 36–7, weigh against it. If on the other hand the collection is one of incoming correspondence (*epistulae receptae*) or of documents relating to a single case or litigant, the items should cohere chronologically. The second of these is the more attractive: Lissenius Proculus (perhaps as *iuridicus*, cf. i 31) is addressed in i 35 ff. and replies in ii 26 ff.

3050 thus gives some ground for assigning Lissenius Proculus to the same period as Marcellus and Salutaris, and for redating PSI 870. This date can be supported on other grounds: see now J. R. Rea, *Akten d. XIII. int. Kongr. d. Pap.* (Marburg, 1971).

Col. i

→]η′
].[.]χαριν....
]αφρρντιςτον
]ανέςτρεψεν
5]
]
].ε παρορισμῶν
].ιῆ
]υ καὶ Μαρκίου Σαλου-
10]
] περί τε παρορισμῶ(ν)
] ἐλάττονας ἀρούρας
].τας ζητήσεις περα
]ις δεκαπρώτοις εν
15]τοις τῆς τοπαρχίας
] μετακαλεσαμε-
] ὁριοδεικτῶν και
]ειναι μ[ε]ταξὺ αυ
].η.[.]ασθαι ἵν' οὕτω
20]παύσηται και
]διδω καὶ ειτι
]ηστετυ
].. τούτῳ τῷ πρα
]εντοι τινες
25]εσθαι προς
]υ ἑκάστοις τα
ἐ]ντυχεῖν. πρόθες.
]
]ειδωςιτοιςτεδε
30]
]ιοδοτου
]
].υ.[.]αχωνσιος
]
35] χαίρειν.
]..ιος Ἀνουβίωνος
]α.ματα Ἡρακλει
] επ...της δικαι
].[....].....

c. 4 lines lost

Col. ii

1 .....[
καὶ οἰκοπέδων[
ὀάσεως διὰ τρυ..[
.ιας και....ενε[
5 .]αι τούτων....[
.....αυτοις...[
ἐνέτυχον και...[
της ἐπιστρατηγ..[
μοι δίκαια προς.[
10 παραγγείλας οισα.[
γνωρίμων μοι .[
ὑποστῆναι ων.[
δίκην οἱ δὲ εἰς το.[
του ἀλλὰ καὶ τω.[
15 ἦλθον σοι εξεπι.[
τῆς ἀπὸ σοῦ βοη[θείας
καλω κατὰ την.[
αὐθεντίας πεμ[
επικρατειν.[
20 αἱ διατάξεις [
Αὐρηλ( ) Ἑρμοκλ.[
δως.[.].ραμμ[
[
[
25 [
Λισση[νι
περὶ προς...[
νομον επι..[
Λισσήνιος Πρ[όκλος
30 ἐχρῆν μεν α..[
νον τε πολλὰ α[
τῆς ἡγεμονίας [
.....]...[
αγαγεῖν ὑπερ[
35 (ἔτους) β″ Ἐπεὶφ [
ἐγράφη δὲ κα[
τοὺς ἀφήλικα[c
Λισσήνιος Π[ρόκλος
.....[
40 καὶ Κύριλλα[
απει.ων[
την νομη[
(ἔτους) γ [

i 12 *ελατ'τονας* ii 10 *παραγ'γειλας*

i 7–8 A heading (subject and date of the proclamation), as in ii 26–8 and (in narrative form) ii 36–7. Cf. **3026** introd.

7 *παρορισμῶν*: note PMilVogl. IV 251. 3–4, which mentions a report of a horiodeictes *παρορισμοῦ γινομέν(ου)*; BGU 616.

9–27 Proclamation of Marcellus and Salutaris. The format is the same as in **2664**. 9–10 might be restored accordingly: *ἐξ αὐθεντείας Κλαυδίου Μαρκέλλου τοῦ διαςημοτάτου καθολικο]ῦ καὶ Μαρκίου Σαλου[ταρίου τοῦ κρατίςτου ἐπιτρόπου τῶν ςεβαςτῶν* ±14]. This gives an initial lacuna of *c.* 50 letters. I have assumed from the spacing that there was a short line of writing between 9 and 11. But the space is not so marked as to make this certain.

13 *πέρα*? *περᾶ*[*ναι*?

15]*τοις τῆς τοπαρχίας*: presumably *δεκαπρώ*]*τοις* or *τοῖς τῆς τ.* [*δεκαπρώτοις*. The other officials likely to be involved had authority only in their own village (comogrammateus, horiodeictes: for the latter see PCairIsid. 3. 10 note).

21 ff. might be restored on the lines of **3017** 2–3 and 13: *εἴ τι*[*νες . . . ὑπογραφ*]*ῆς τετυ*[*χήκαςι*; 24 *εἰ μ*]*έντοι τινες . . .*

23 E.g. *τούτῳ τῷ πρα*|[*γματικῷ* (PLeit. 16. 9 note).

26 *ἑκάςτοις τα*: restore *τὰ* | [*ἴδια*? The phrase is used of the rectification of *παρορισμοὶ* in BGU 616 (verb *ἀποκαταςτῆςαι*) and PRossGeorg. II 21. 17–18 (verb *παρα*[*δοῦναι*).

29 E.g. *ἵν'*] *εἰδῶςι τοῖς τε δε*|[*καπρώτοις*. If this is right, the note refers back to the proclamation. 31 may be the heading of a new document: a letter (35) from or to the *iuridicus* (31).

31 Probably *δικα*]*ιοδότου*.

33 *υ* is probable; before it a horizontal, like the cross-bar of *ε*; after it probably *π*. Perhaps e.g. *δ*]*ὲ ὑπ*[*ὸ Τ*]*αχώνιος*.

36]*ωιος* might be possible, but not]*ωνιος*; it would be convenient to find a connection with 33, which from its position should belong to a summary of the letter which follows. Alternatively]*ωνιος*?

37 Probably *γρ*]*άμματα*. *Ἡρακλει-* may then have been the writer of these 'letters'. If the whole collection of documents belongs to the 240s, only two known high officials come into question: the prefect Aur. Sept. Heraclitus, in office in 215; and the prefect Heraclius, known only from the undated **1313** (third cent.).

38 Apparently not *ἐπιςτολῆς*; perhaps *ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς δικαι*|[*οδοςίας*?

39 If this column finished opposite ii 43, there will have been four more lines.

ii 6 At the beginning e.g. *ρῦ̣τ̣ο̣ς*.

10 *παραγγείλας*: e.g. **2343** 7, of the prefect's instructions to the petitioner.

21 Is this the subscription of the petition (which one might otherwise have supposed to terminate not long after the *βοήθεια*-phrase in 16)? *-κλη*[*ς* or *-κλη*[*ν* suits the trace; not *-κλε*[.

22 Not *εἰ*]*δότος γράμμ*[*ατα*. Perhaps e.g. *ἐπι*]*δώςῳ γράμμ*[*ατα*.

26–8 Is this the heading of the letter which follows, or a letter itself?

27 Perhaps *περὶ προςώπ*[*ων*; or *περὶ Προςωπ*[*ιτ-* .

30 *α*..[: *π*[or *τ*.[.

41 E.g. *ἀπεῖρων* [, *ἀπειλῶν* [.

IV. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

3051. Receipt for Arrears of Rent

Plate XI

33 4B.79/E (1–3) a — 21 × 20·7 cm. — 1 May 89

This receipt was given by the steward of Ti. Claudius Theon, a former gymnasiarch and agoranomus of Alexandria. Theon had leased out land from the Seneca estate to Petsiris; rent both in cash and in kind was owing; Petsiris' son here settles the debt in a single cash payment. Petsiris also had debts to the steward's own father; a final safeguard (lines 8–11) stipulates that the obligation to settle these is not affected by the present transaction.

It is likely enough that Petsiris had died, leaving his creditors to his son. This copy of the receipt has no subscription, but was certainly folded for preservation.

For similar texts see J. Herrmann, *Studien z. Bodenpacht* 273 f.

The background is illuminated by **2873**, published with commentary by G. M. Browne, *BASP* 5 (1968) 16 ff. The document is a withdrawal from lease, dated A.D. 62; it is submitted by two farmers (sublessees) to Ti. Claudius Theon, *μιεθωτὴς τῆς Λουκείου Ἀνναίου Ϲενέκα οὐςίας*. If this is the same Theon as in **3051**, he seems to have held the Seneca estate for over twenty-seven years.

The chief interest of the piece is palaeographic. The hand is an elegant and formal one with few ligatures (it degenerates into cursive only in the date, lines 11–12). The sporadic tall *ε* and the flattened *ω* look forward to the Severe Style and similar hands of the mid second century; **3051** should figure with PGissUnivBibl. 20 and PBremen 5 (both early in the reign of Hadrian) among the dated forerunners of those hands.

The back is blank.

→ .....]*ειν*ος *οἰκ*[*ον*]*όμος Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Θέωνος τῶν γεγυμνα*]*ιαρχηκότων καὶ ἠγορανομηκότων Ἀλεξανδρεί-ας* .....].*ωι Πετϲίρεως τοῦ καὶ Λίβωνος τοῦ Πανεχώτου* .....]. *παρὰ* [*ϲ*]*οῦ εἰϲ τὸν τοῦ προγεγραμμένου Κλαυδίου*
5 *Θέωνος λό*]*γον λ*[*ο*]*ιπὸν ἐκφορ*[*ί*]*ων καὶ ἀργυρικῶν φόρων* .....].*ν ὧν ἐγεώ*[*ρ*]*γει ὁ προγεγραμμένος πατὴρ* .... *Ϲ*]*ενεκ*[*ι*]*ανῆς* [*ο*]*ὐϲίας τῶν ἔμπροϲθεν χρόνων* ..... *ἀρ*]*γυρίου δραχμαὶ ἑπτακόϲιαι* (*γίνονται*) (*δρ.*) *ψ μένοντος μοι τοῦ λ*]*όγου τῶν ὀφειλομένων τῷ πατρί μου Κλαυδίῳ*
10 .....]. *ὑπ*[*ὸ τ*]*οῦ π*[*ρ*]*ογεγ*[*ρ*]*αμμένου πατρός ϲου Πετ-ϲίρεως το*]*ῦ καὶ Λίβωνος*. (*ἔτους*) *η Αὐτοκράτορος Καίϲαρος Δομι*]*τιανοῦ Ϲεβαςτοῦ Γερμανικοῦ μη*(*νὸϲ*) *Γερμανικείου* $\overline{\text{ἑκ}[\tau]}$*ηι*.

8 / ϛψ

'[ ]inus, steward of Tiberius Claudius Theon, former gymnasiarch and agoranomus of Alexandria, to . . . son of Petsiris alias Libo and grandson of Panechotes, greetings. I have received from you, for the account of the above-mentioned Claudius Theon, arrears of rent in kind and rent in money for . . . arouras which your above-mentioned father farmed in former times, being part of the Seneca estate . . . seven hundred drachmas of silver, making 700 dr., without prejudice to my rights in respect of the debt owing to my father Claudius [ ] from your above-mentioned father Petsiris alias Libo. Year 8 of Imperator Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, month Germaniceus sixth.'

1 A Ti. Claudius Theon was one of the landowners involved in constructing a dike at Tychinnecotis in A.D. 83/4 (**290** 29); property *πρότερον Κλαυδίου Θέωνος* is mentioned in A.D. 101 (**510** 15 f.). Either or both might be identical with the Theon of **2873** and **3051**.

2 *γεγυμνα]ειαρχηκότων*: add Ti. Claudius Theon to Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarches* 44.

4 .....]. : the expected formula is *χα(ίρειν)· ἀπέχ]ω* (*χαίρειν* without abbreviation exceeds the space).

6 *ὧν*: the relative need have no noun attached, see PHamb. 8. 6. But *ἀρουρ]ῶν* would fit conveniently before it.

.....: the letters are much damaged. We expect *πατήρ σου*; there is enough ink for *πατήρ σου Πετ|[εῖρις* (Youtie). But the first trace is rather straight for *c*. Possibly *μου* was written by mistake.

8 *δραχμαὶ ἑπτακόσιαι*: if the supplement *ἀπέχ]ω* (4) is right, we expect an accusative. The nominative may be a mistake; or the beginning of the line might be restored *ὅ ἐστιν ἀρ]γυρίου*.

9 *τῷ πατρί μου*: the steward has received one payment on behalf of his master; he wishes to make it clear that this in no way affects his own rights as representative (or heir) of his father. The father was a Roman citizen; the son must similarly have borne the *nomen* Claudius (either abbreviated or omitted in line 1, to judge from the space).

3052. Itinerary

5 1B.42/G (c) 17×17·5 cm. First century

The papyrus is broken at the top; but the content suggests that little, if anything, preceded line 1. The lower half of the sheet, and the back, are blank. The hand, which is virtually without ligatures, belongs to the earlier first century; dated parallels are listed in the introduction to **2435**.

The text is the itinerary of a journey from Nicopolis to (perhaps) Oxyrhynchus. The travellers enter Egypt, line 2 (that is, they leave Alexandria); and reach Nicopolis on Mecheir 17. Subsequent stages have numbers, from 1 to 9 or 10. These numerals might represent days of the month; but in that case nearly two weeks passed at Nicopolis. It seems more likely that the numbers simply index the successive days of the journey.

The towns named, so far as they are legible and identifiable, suggest a journey by water: from *Nicopolis* by canal to Schedia, and then south on the Canopic branch past *Hermoupolis* Minor (cf. Strabo 17. 1. 16 and 22); south again on the main stream past *Babylon* and *Memphis* to *Aphrodito*; west along the Fayyūm canal, past *Venne*, to join the Baḥr Yūsuf at *Ptolemais* Hormu; along the Baḥr Yūsuf past *Caene* (?) and *Tacona* (?) to Oxyrhynchus.

This explains why the stages include both Memphis, on the west bank, and Babylon and Aphrodito, on the east bank. The land routes naturally stay on one bank: *Itinerarium Antonini* (155. 1 ff.) Chereu, Hermoupoli, Andro, Niciu, Letus, Memphis, Peme, Isiu, Caene, Tacona, Ossirincho; *Tabula Peutingeriana* (see K. Miller, *Itin. Rom.* 852 ff.) Alexandria, Melcati, Naucrati, Niciu, Auleu, Memphis, Venne, Sinottū, Ptolemaidonar, Heracleo, etc. The land route would be quicker: the *Itin. Antonini* reckons five days from Chereu to Memphis, our travellers took nine days from Nicopolis. Of course they were going against the current; and took time off for a bath on at least five days.[1]

The coincidences between this itinerary (a purely private document) and the literary ones are interesting. *Venne* is known only from the papyrus and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

. . . . .

→ α.....[
εἰς Αἴγυπτο[ν ..... Με]χεὶρ ῖζ̄ εἰς Νει-
κόπολιν ᾱ εἰς [..... β̄ εἰ]ς Ἑρμοῦ πόλειν γ̄
εἰς ...ειαμ..[.....].. ἐλουσάμεθα [δ̄
5 εἰς .ετ.η ε̄ εἰς .[.... ἐλο]υ̣σάμεθα καὶ ἐμί-
ναμεν .αλλα᾽ν᾽τε.[.....]θιου ἐλουσάμεθα [
ει....ω ζ̄ εἰς Πε.[.....]μεθα α.την η̄ παρε[μ-
βολῇ Ἀγαθοκλ̣έ̣ο[υς ἐ]λουσάμεθα θ̄ Βαβυλῶν
παρεμ]βολῇ ᾽εἶτα᾽ Μένφ̣ε̣ις. εἶτα εἰς φύλακας Ἀφροδειτώ
10 ....].[.]. εἶτα Οὐεννὲ̣ εἶ̣τα Πτολ̣εμαεὶς εἶτα [[λευκ̣ο̣γε]] Κεν..
.....]. εἶτα ..α...[ ]

1 Perhaps *αγλ* or *αγα*. The papyrus breaks off just above this line, which may or may not have been the beginning of the text.

3 *εἰς* [.....: perhaps [*Χαιρέου*, which precedes Hermoupolis in the *Itin. Antonini*. **1749** assesses costs of water-transport from this town to Niciu, Heracleopolis, and Cynopolis.

4 ...ειαμ..[: before *ε* perhaps *η* or *ν*; after *μ* perhaps *η*, then the left side of *γ* or *π*.

]..: perhaps].[[.][*ω*.

5 *εἰς .ετ.η*: apparently *Νετλ*[[*ε*]]*η* (though the first letter might possibly be *kappa*). Not known to *WB* III or *WBSuppl.*

εἰς .[: a curving tail, as of *ρ* or *υ*.

5–7 We have to restore *ε̄* somewhere in line 6. (*a*) 6–7 *ἐλουσάμεθα* [*ϛ*] | *εἰς* ...*ω* looks satisfactory; if so, the travellers bathed twice on the fifth day. (*b*) 6 e.g. [*ε̄ εἰς* ...]*θιου*; in that case the travellers proceeded *εἰς* ...*ω* after their bath (or *ει*....*ω* must be restored differently).

6 .*αλλαντε*.[: the first letter looks like a *τ* closely followed by remains of another upright: probably *π*, in the form characteristic of this hand. At the end, a low curve as of *c*. I can make nothing of *παλλαντεϛ*[; and *Παλλαντεο*[is not promising as a proper name.

[1] Dr. Rea compares the extract from Alexander's Journals, Arrian *Anab.* 7. 25 f. (*FGrH* 117 F 3): *ἔπειτα ἐξαναστάντα καὶ λουσάμενον . . . ἀπαλλαχθέντα δὲ τοῦ πότου λούσασθαι κτλ.*

]θιου: of θ parts of the loop and a trace of cross-bar to the left (θ rather than β ε φ; not Νι]κίου).

7 εἰς Πε.[: if what follows is ἐλουσά]μεθα, the place-name can have only three or four letters. Περ[would be a good reading (remains of the loop and of the shaft of ρ).

α.την: foot of upright, and left-hand arc, as for αἰςτην. Seemingly not δὶς (which in any case leaves την without function).

7–8 παρε[μ]βολὴ Ἀγαθοκλέο[υς: I have not found this place-name attested. As a speculation, I note that Agathocles son of Oenanthe, as 'guardian' of Ptolemy V, sent Scopas to recruit new mercenaries with the intention τοὺς ἀρχαίους καὶ προϋπάρχοντας ξένους ἐπὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν φρούρια καὶ τὰς κατοικίας ἀποστεῖλαι (Pol. 15. 25. 17). The *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* registers no high-ranking soldiers called Agathocles.

9 Μένφεις: the trace which follows is of an upright. Perhaps the numeral ι (the stroke above it lost); but εἶτα is then superfluous.

φύλακας Ἀφροδειτώ: φύλακας rather than φυλακάς. This entry supports the restoration ἐν Ἀφροδί]της πόλει at PHib. 198. 126–7, in a list of φυλακαί. The guards must have manned a customs post: compare the Ἑρμοπολιτικὴ φυλακή (PHib. 198. 130), which Strabo 17. 1. 41 describes as τελώνιόν τι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαΐδος καταφερομένων.

The ship-canal for the Arsinoite leaves the Nile opposite Aphrodito; the travellers must have turned along it, to reach Ptolemais Hormu (10). On the canal see Wiken, *Corolla Archeologica* (*Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom* 2, 1932) 272 f.; he remarks that Strabo too seems to have used it, since his description proceeds from Aphroditopolis to the Arsinoite and then to the Heracleopolite.

10 Οὐεννέ must be the *Venne* mentioned by the *Tabula Peutingeriana* after Memphis and before *Ptolemaidonar* (i.e. Ptolemais Hormu?) and *Heracleo*.

Πτολεμαείς: sc. Ὅρμου. See PPetaus pp. 22 ff.

[[λευκρχε]]: the scribe began to write Λευκογεῖον, the southern river-port of the Fayyūm. The supra-script might be read κενη i.e. Καινή: a suitable town, being on the Baḥr Yūsuf. This depends partly on what terminus is reached in the next line.

11 ..α...[ ]: difficult. I had tried Ἡρακλέ[ους: against this (*a*) ε[looks much more like ο[, and there is no room for λ before it; (*b*) if Κενή is right in 10, Heracleopolis is well behind us. A better guess would be Ṭακό[να, which the *Itin. Anton.* gives as the last stage on the road before Oxyrhynchus. Against this: there is more space and ink than the initial τ can explain.

3053. Registration of Sale of Slave

34 4B.77/L (1–3) a 9·8 × 16·3 cm. 28 October/26 November 252

This document exactly parallels **73** (A.D. 94) and **3054** (A.D. 265). It states that the owner of a slave has registered him (ἀπεγράψατο), declaring his ownership by a document submitted (ὑπόμνημα) and an oath in writing (χειρογραφία); details are given about the slave and about the circumstances of the purchase. The registration is made through the agoranomi or their substitutes.

73 has been discussed by Mitteis, *Gz.* 184; Woess, *Untersuch. ü. d. Urkundenwesen* 170 ff.; Seidl, *Der Eid* i 90 f.; Pringsheim, *Greek Law of Sale* 234 f.

263 (Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 77) and SB 7533 ('Upper Egypt', A.D. 160/1) illustrate the previous submission and oath referred to (lines 10–11). In these documents the seller of a slave addresses the agoranomi; he swears that he has sold the slave, that the slave was his property, and that he has received the price—in effect, then, affirms on oath the contents of the deed of sale (which in SB 7533 follows on the same sheet). The same procedure, but for a sale of land, appears in **100** of A.D. 133 (revised text and bibliography in *CPJ* iii 454).

This is the oath of the seller. The χειρογραφία of the purchaser (**3053** 11 etc.) will have been similar. The ὑπόμνημα of the purchaser remains obscure; if it was simply an ἀπογραφή (registering the acquisition of the slave), the ἀπεγράψατο documents must represent yet another stage—written confirmation that the ἀπογραφή-procedure has been gone through.

All these documents do or may come from Oxyrhynchus. The new pieces **3053** and **3054** show that this first-century form continued in use in the later third century: concurrently, that is, with the complexities of anacrisis (see Wolff, *ZSS* 83 (1966) 340; van der Wal, *Rev. de l'hist. du droit* 35 (1967) 595).

The sale took place at Aurelia Tripolis (13): the title is new and interesting.

The back is blank.

→ ἔτου[ς γ Αὐ]τοκρατόρων Καισάρων Γαίου Οὐιβίου
Τρεβ[ω]νιανοῦ Γάλλου καὶ Γαίου Οὐιβίου Ἀφινίου
Γάλλου Οὐελδουμιανοῦ Οὐολουσιανοῦ Εὐσεβῶν
Εὐτυχῶν Σεβα[στῶ]ν μηνὸς Νέου Σεβαστοῦ (*vac.*)
5 Ἀθὺρ (*vac.*) ἐν Ὀξ(υρύγχων) πόλ(ει) διὰ Αὐρηλ(ίου) Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ καὶ
Διονυσίου ἀσχολ[ου]μ(ένου) ὠνη(ν) ἀγορανομ(είου).
ἀπεγράψατο τῇ ἐνεστώσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος
Μαρκιαν[ὸ]ς ὁ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ Δημητρίου
Εὐθηνοδότε[ιο]ς ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαιεὺς ὡς (ἐτῶν) λζ ἄσημ(ος) ἐν ἀγυιᾷ
10 ὃν ἐδήλου δι' οὗ ἐπέδωκεν ὑπομνήματος καὶ ἧς
πεποίηται χειρογραφίας ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ ἀγορασθεῖ-
σαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ δίπλωμα Ἑλληνικὸν γενόμενον
ἐν Αὐρηλίᾳ Τριπόλει τῆς Φοινίκης τῷ διελθόντι
β (ἔτει) παρὰ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Δε.των.. Σιλβανοῦ Ὀσρο-
15 ηνοῦ δούλην ὀνόματι Βαλσαμέαν γένει Ὀσροηνὴν
Μεσοποταμηνὴν ὡς (ἐτῶν) ιζ οὐλ(αὶ) χείλει τῷ ἄνω ἐξ ἀρι-
στερ(ῶν) καὶ γόνατι δεξ(ιῷ) ἀπὸ καταπλοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δ.ιελ-
θ[ό]ντος β (ἔτους) Ἐπεὶφ κξ ἐν πλοίῳ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
Διοσκόρου ἄκατος Οὐρανία ἐν ἀγυιᾷ τῇ αὐτῇ.

20 (*m.*²) Αὐρήλιος Μαρκιανὸς ἀπεγραψάμην
ὡς πρόκιται.

5 οξ̄ πδ̄ αυρὴ 6 ασχολ[ου]μ ωνη αγορανομ 8 ηρακλης corr. from -κλειος? ἴσιδωρου 10 ὑπο- 11 ὑπ- 12 ὑπ 15 οσρο-: σ corrected 16 ουλ 16–17 αριστερ' δεξ' 19 αγυῖα

'Year 3 of Imperatores Caesares Gaius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus and Gaius Vibius Afinius Gallus Veldumnianus Volusianus Pii Felices Augusti, in the month Neos Sebastos . . ., Hathyr . . ., in the city of the Oxyrhynchi, through Aurelius Antipater alias Dionysius who has in charge the farm of the agoranomeion.

Marcus Aurelius Marcianus alias Heracles, son of Isidorus and grandson of Demetrius, of the Euthenodotean tribe and the Althaean deme, aged about 37, no distinguishing marks, registered this present day, in the street, the slave whom he declared in the memorandum he submitted and the written oath he made to belong to him, purchased by him under a Greek contract made in Aurelia Tripolis in Phoenicia in the past 2nd year from Marcus Aurelius . . . Silvanus, an Osrhoenian—the female slave by name Balsamea, by race Osrhoenian Mesopotamian, age about 17, scars on the upper lip to the left and on the right knee, imported by sea, in the said past 2nd year, Epeiph 26, in a boat belonging to Marcus Aurelius Dioscorus, (type?) *akatos*, (figurehead?) Urania, in the said street.

(2nd hand) I, Aurelius Marcianus, have registered (the slave) as above.'

5 f. The slave-sale **1209** (dated to an uncertain year of Gallus) is transacted before the same Antipater; there, as here and in **73** and **3054**, the month has a double name, and the writer leaves a blank for the numeral after each element.

6 *ἀcχολ[ου]μ(ένου)*: see **1208** 2 note; add **1709** (A.D. 224), **1562** (276/82), **3054** (265), PStrass. 264 (277/82), SB 8971 (late 3rd century). The documents show that the agoranomeion was regularly farmed, as early as 224 and as late as 291, to administrators with this title.

9 *Εὐθηνοδότε[ιο]ς*: this must be the correct form, parallel to *Ἀγαθοδότειος*. **1707** 4 prints *Εὐθηνοδίου*, which must be a mistake; PSI 464. 4 has only *ευθ.ν[*.

10 *δν*: the writer forgot to adapt his formula to the feminine.

12 *δίπλωμα Ἑλληνικόν*: **3054** 9 f., PRossGeorg. III 27 (Alex. Severus), PVindBosw. 7. 17 (A.D. 225); *δίπλωμα* alone BGU 913. 3 (A.D. 206). Of the slave-sales referred to in these five documents, four certainly took place outside Egypt; this fact suggests that PVindBosw. 7. 17 *ἐν τοῖς ἔξω τόποις* should be interpreted in the same sense. Indeed, we should not expect sales in diploma form in Egypt; whereas they are the norm e.g. in Dura Europos.

On diplomata see J. F. Gilliam, *Bonner Jahrb.* 167 (1967) 233 f., *JJP* 16–17 (1971) 65 ff. BGU 913, a slave-sale from Myra in Lycia, describes itself as a diploma, though no trace of a second text remains.

13 *Αὐρηλίᾳ Τριπόλει*: the famous Tripoli in Phoenicia, but I find no other evidence for the title *Aurelia*. The British Museum *Catalogue of Greek Coins, Phoenicia* (1910), records ample third-century issues up to and including Elagabalus; no title appears beyond *ναυαρχίς* (under Elagabalus: pp. 222 ff.), which was already attested under Hadrian by OGI 587. If then an emperor conferred the *Aurelia* after the reign of Elagabalus and before the date of our document, it must have been Alexander Severus. This may be confirmed by a coin in the British Museum (*Cat.* p. 226 no. 139), with the unique inscription *ΤΡΙΠΙΟ*( ) METR(opolis) POENI(ciae); the image is obscured by double striking and corrosion, but doubtfully identified as Alexander Severus.[1]

For the process we may compare the elevation of Sidon to colonial status by Elagabalus: its new title is *Colonia Aurelia Pia Metropolis Sidon*. Alexander Severus showed himself active in the province, perhaps because he passed through on the way to the Parthian front; he certainly restored the title *Metropolis* to Tyre, and conferred it on Caesarea Maritima (see Kadman, *Corp. Numm. Pal.* II p. 24, IV p. 24). Tripoli perhaps benefited from the same occasion.

14 *Δε.των.ʹ*: apparently *Δεγ'τ-* or *Δετ'τ-*; at the end *-νος* or possibly *-νη*. E.g. *Δέττωνος*, with *Σιλβανοῦ* as patronymic. But neither *Δέττων* nor *Δέγτων* is attested.

15 *Βαλcαμέαν*: the masculine *Βαλcαμῆς* is quoted from Lidzbarski, *Eph. f. sem. Epigr.* 1 p. 260.

16 *Μεcοποταμηνὴν*: elsewhere the adjective seems to be *Μεcοποταμίτης* or *Μεcοποτάμιος*.

[1] Mr. Martin Price has been kind enough to inspect the coin, which is still unique in the British Museum collection. He confirms the reading of the legend; and adds (*a*) that]CAẸS[EV]ALẸX[is a possible reading of the obverse; (*b*) that neither the profile nor the general style of the coin really compares with at least the commoner types of Caracalla and Elagabalus.

17 *ἀπὸ καταπλοῦ*: see Wegener, *JJP* 9–10 (1955–6) 102.

19 *ἄκατος Οὐρανία*: the letters are certain, except for *ς* (but if it is *υ*, the final stroke is much less extended than one would expect). It would be natural to take *Οὐρανία* as the ensign of the boat, as e.g. Thalia in PTebt. 486. But this is not a meaning which *ἄκατος* ever has (*παράcημον, ἐπίcημον*). Are the two nominatives a shorthand description of the boat by type and by ensign?

3054. Registration of Sale of Slave

19 2B.74/B (a) 11·5 × 16·3 cm. 26 May/ 24 June 265?

A registration of the same form as **3053**. The back was reused for a private letter from Apollonius to Sarapammon (printed below as **3066**); the address of the letter appears in the left margin of the registration.

The registrant comes from Bostra, capital of the province of Arabia. The sale had taken place in Bostra; and details are given of three successive previous owners; to the earliest of these the slave had belonged by birth. We learn incidentally some new facts about the constitution of Bostra and the nomenclature of its citizens; Septimius Severus (24) is particularly tantalizing. Unfortunately the papyrus is badly damaged, so that the reading is often in doubt. I am particularly indebted to Dr. John Rea and Dr. John Shelton for their help.

→ *ἔτους ιβ' Αὐτοκράτορος Καίcαρος Π̣ο̣υ̣π̣λί̣ο̣υ̣ Λ̣ι̣κ̣ι̣ν̣ν̣ί̣ο̣υ̣ ⟨Γαλλιηνοῦ⟩*
Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίcτου Εὐcεβοῦc Εὐτυχοῦc Cεβαcτοῦ
Λῴου (vac.) Παῦνι (vac.) ἐν Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει διὰ Αὐρη-
λίου Cερηνοθέωνος ἀcχολουμένου ὠνὴν ἀγο̣ρ̣(ανομείου).
5 *ἀπεγράψατο τῇ ἐνεcτώcῃ ἡμέρᾳ Α̣ὐ̣ρ̣ηλία ....τις*
Cίμωνος ἀπὸ Βόcτρας τῆς Cυρίας φυλῆς Αν̣.[..
ὡς (ἐτῶν?) ..[..].[...].[... ὃν ἐδήλο]υ δι' οὗ ἐπέδωκ[εν ὑ-
πομνήμ[ατο]c καὶ ἡ̣[c πεποί]η̣ται χειρογραφίαc ὑπάρ-
χειν αὐτῷ ἀ̣[γ]ορασθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ δίπλωμα
10 *Ἑλληνικὸν γε̣νόμενον ἐν Βόcτρᾳ ἐπὶ̣ ὑ̣πάτων*
Ἀλβείνου τὸ [β]' καὶ Δέκcτρο[υ] εἰδ[ο]ῖc Φεβραρίαιc πα-
ρὰ Αὐρηλίου .εργια Ἰουλιαν[ο]ῦ Μ̣αξίμου βουλευτοῦ
.....ιο̣υ̣ φυλῆς Ρωμ..α̣c δ̣ο̣ῦ̣λον ὀνό-
ματι Προκόπτοντα ὑcτερ.....c̣θεντα
15 *Ἄ̣π̣τ̣ο̣ν ὡc (ἐτῶν) .β λευκόχρουν ὑποπλατυπρόcω-*
πον ἀρεόφρυν κονδόρεινα οὐλαὶ μετώπῳ
καὶ ὀφρύει καὶ cιαγόνει εὐωνύμοιc παράcτραβο(ν)
ὠνηθέντα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰουλι̣ανοῦ κατ' ὠνὴν

τελειωθεῖσαν διὰ δημο̣σί̣ου ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει
20 τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει μηνὶ Δίῳ π̣αρ̣ὰ .....ι̣δδα̣θ̣.
μολ̣.ανου βουλευτοῦ δι....ος γενομέ̣[ν]ου
ἐν φυλῇ Διός, καὶ αυ.....α̣μεν.[.] κατ'
ὠνὴν δι.....η πόλει δημ[ο]σίω(ν)
παρὰ] Σεπτιμίας Ε̣...γας Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου
25 ....].....τα αυ....ο̣γενη εκ..ρι
....].λης νομ[..].ο̣μ....α..α.[...]...

. . . . .

4 αγορ̣ς 15 l. λευκόχρων 16 l. ἀραιόφρυν 17 -στραβ̣ 18 κατ' 20 ι̣δ'δα̣θ̣. 22 κατ' 23 δημοσιῶ

'Year 12 of Imperator Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus Germanicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus, Lous , Payni , in the city of the Oxyrhynchi, through Aurelius Serenotheon who has in charge the farm of the agoranomeion. Aurelia . . ., daughter of Simon, from Bostra in Syria, of the tribe . . ., . . ., registered on the present day the slave whom she declared in the memorandum she submitted and the written oath she made to belong to him (?), purchased by him (?) under a Greek contract made at Bostra on the Ides of February in the consulship of Albinus for the second time and Dexter from Aurelius Julianus Maximus, *tribu Sergia* (?), . . . senator . . . of the tribe *Romana*(?) —the slave Prokopton by name, afterwards renamed (?) Aptus, aged about . . ., white skin, slightly flat faced, scanty eyebrows, short nose, scars on the left forehead and eyebrow and jawbone, slight squint—bought by Julianus himself under a sale transacted through the public record office in the said city in the said year in the month Dius (from?) . . . Molianus, senator for ever (?) (and?) formerly in the tribe of Zeus, who had himself bought (him) under a sale (transacted) though the public records (?) in the said city from Septimia . . . daughter of Septimius Severus . . . belonging to her as born in her house, the child of . . . (?)'

1 ἔτους ι̣β̣: the top and foot of a long vertical, which I take to be ι; then the straight right side of a letter, suitable for β or η. We have a *terminus post* in line 11: 13 February A.D. 263. Only one suitable year offers before Constantine, i.e. 12 Gallienus = 264/5. The difficulty lies in the reading of the name. Π̣ο̣υ̣π̣λ̣ί̣ο̣υ̣ is very satisfactory; so is ψ̣ηφ̣ι̣ο̣υ̣. But Δ̣μ̣κ̣ is dubious, with unexplained ink below the putative ι. And the space certainly excludes Γαλλιηνοῦ.

3 After each month name, a blank space for the numeral.

5 Α̣ὐ̣ρ̣η̣λ̣ί̣α̣ ....τις: -ία seems clear. But nothing is said of a guardian, whether acting or dispensed with; and the pronouns are masculine in 9. The second name begins with κ or υ.

6 φυλῆς Α̣υ̣.[: for the genitive cf. 13. Tribal organization at Bostra was already attested by IGR III 1276 ἐπισκοπούσης φυλῆς Σομαιθηνῶν and 1277 ἐπισκοπούντων βουλευτῶν φυλῆς Βιταιηνῶν.

Α̣υ̣.[: the trace looks most like a high arc (left side of ο or top half of ε, for example); but it's very uncertain. It is not clear what sort of name to expect: the inscriptional tribes are named from clans or families (A. H. M. Jones, *CERP* 293); but **3054** has φυλὴ Ῥωμ..α in 13 and φυλὴ Διός in 22. (Exactly these three types in Asia Minor: Levick, *Anat. Stud.* 15 (1965) 56 n. 42.) The word may continue into the next line.

7 The parallels (**73** 12, **3053** 9) give the age and description of the registrant, then ἐν ἀγυιᾷ. The reconstruction depends on the trace after ως. I have taken it as a year sign, though it is not so extended as in 15. But only the flat base is at all clear. Otherwise -ως might belong to line 6.

11 13 February A.D. 263.

12 .εργια: there are two traces: a high point on the edge of the break, and a horizontal joining ε at its mid point. (*a*) The seller is called simply Julianus in 18. Even so .εργια(ς) might be part of his full name. But I have found no suitable name attested. (*b*) Σ̣ε̣ρ̣γ̣ί̣α̣ might be this citizen's Roman tribe. We have to take the high trace as the end of the υ preceding, which has then to be unusually wide; or else as the bottom angle of [β]' above. This seems to be the better solution.

13 φυλῆς is the firm point. What follows is its name. I am inclined to read Ῥωμ̣α̣ί̣ας: cf. a local *Tribus Romana* at Pisidian Antioch, *Anat. Studies* 15 (1965) 54. Dr. Shelton suggests instead Ῥωμιλ̣ί̣ας (the Roman tribe *Romilia*); this may be right; but the difficult trace looks more like the loop of α than the angle of λ.

At the beginning γεν is suggested: some form of γενόμενος?

14 Προκόπτοντα: I have not found the name attested, but it's clearly suitable to be translated *Aptus* (15). The rest of the line will mean 'afterwards renamed'. ὕστερον might be possible, but not ὕστερον δέ. ἐπικληθέντα and μετονομασθέντα will not fit.

15 ὡς (ἐτῶν) .β̣: of β only the upper loop. The horizontal before it looks most like part of the year-sign. But 2 years is not a plausible age for a slave so often sold. Just possibly μ̣β̣.

16 ἀρεόφρυν: new. Cf. Moeris p. 214. 9 Bekker: ψεδνὸς Ἀττικοί, ἀραιόθριξ Ἕλληνες.

κονδόρεινα: new, but cf. κοντό<ρ>ινος quoted by LSJ Suppl. from *Cat. Cod. Astr.* 7. 202. 7. This is notable. κοντός/κονδός, well established in Modern Greek, does not appear at all in the papyrus documents. For its history see Hatzidakis, *Festschr. Kretschmer* 35 ff.

20 ff. I assume that two further owners are mentioned: hence παρά (doubtfully read) in 20 and again (restored) in 24. In 22 we might read accordingly καὶ αὐτῷ ψ̣ηφ̣ισ̣α̣μένο̣[υ].

20–1 The traces at the end of 20 are too slight to show whether the name spilled over into 21. Μολλ[ι]ανοῦ is a barely possible reading.

21 δι....ος: Perhaps διὰ α̣ὐ̣[ω̣]ν̣ος (α̣ι̣[at least is very plausible). It is the more difficult because the formula of tribe here used differs from those in 12 f. and 6 f. γενομένου should look forward. But how had he ceased to belong to the Tribe of Zeus? and why ἐν rather than the genitive?

23 As sense, διὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει would be attractive, though the space is short for αὐτῇ.

24 Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου: nothing that is known of the emperor's relations suggests that one of them operated at Bostra: see A. R. Birley, *Septimius Severus* 293 ff.

25 Possibly ὑ̣π̣ά̣ρ̣χ̣ο̣ν̣τ̣α̣ α̣ὐ̣τ̣ῇ̣ ο̣ἰ̣κ̣ο̣γ̣ε̣ν̣ῆ̣. But the η of αὐτῇ is difficult. ἐκ may introduce the name of the slave's mother (or parents).

26 I make nothing of this, though the traces are substantial enough to check a guess.

3055–3056. Orders to Supply

These two pieces come from the same layer of papyri, and no doubt were found together. Both are addressed to an Ammonius, and dated in Phamenoth of a first year; both order Ammonius to supply eggs.

Chits of this kind are common: see **1568** and **2139**, and the poulterer's archive (fifty-two ostraca) published by Boyaval in *BIFAO* 63 (1965) 50 ff. and reprinted as SB 10270.

The interest of **3055** lies in its date: L α' Διοκλῆτος, Φαμενὼτ ια. This is evidence for Diocletian's name; and for the date at which he was recognized in Egypt.

Literary sources say that the emperor was called Diocles before his accession: *Epit. de Caes.* 39. 1, Lactantius, *de M. P.* 9. 11 and 19. 5. Lactantius uses the name from time to time in his narrative of the reign (ib. 29. 2, 37. 3, 52. 3); Libanius also uses it, no doubt with deliberate contempt, in recalling Diocletian's injustice to his own ancestors (*Or.* 19. 45 f.). But no document, so far as I know, has any form but Διοκλητιανός.

Diocletian dated his accession from 20 November 284 (PBeattyPanop. 2. 162–4). But Egyptian datings from his first year are very rare. Vandersleyen (*Chronologie des préfets de l'Égypte* 33 ff.) concluded that Diocletian may not have been recognized in Egypt until late in his first year—perhaps not until the middle of 285, when news arrived of the battle of Margus and the murder of Carinus. The texts so far available might have justified the conclusion. The last Egyptian date of Carinus is of Mesore, year 2 = August 284 (SB 6597); a year 3 (beginning 29 August 284) is mentioned in **2338** 52. Diocletian's year 1 appears at **2338** 49 and **2872** 6; but the first precise[1] date is Tybi 4, year 2 = 30 December 285 (SB 7443). Only one document offers an earlier fixed point: PMichaelidae 21. 12–14, dated Mecheir 16, year 1 = 10 February 285. But the printed text presents oddities which led Vandersleyen to discount this evidence.

3055 now settles the point. Diocletian had been recognized in Egypt by 7 March 285 (we can hardly suppose that such a trivial document would have been back-dated). Whatever the run of events, then, the battle of Margus was not the decisive moment.

Another, but insoluble, problem arises. Should we deduce from **3055** that Diocles was the emperor's official name even at this date? If PMichael. 21 is correctly read and dated, the supposition is untenable: *Διοκλητιανός* is already part of the titulature nearly a month earlier than our document. If not, it is open to guess that the emperor adopted the more sonorous name at some time after his accession, perhaps with the defeat of Carinus. This at least can be said: the use of *Διοκλῆς* here might well be an individual ineptness rather than official practice; but the new emperor's name had certainly reached Melas or his clerk in Oxyrhynchus in the form which we have known so far only from hostile literary sources.

3055

Plate VII

22 3B.15/G (4–7) b 8×8 cm. 7 March 285

→ π(αρὰ) Μέλανος γραμμ[ατέ]ως
Ἀμμωνίῳ ὀρνιθῷ χαίρειν.
δὸς Ἄμμωνι φύλακει
ὥστε εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν
5 τῆ[ς] οἰκίας ὧὰ δέκ[α
γί(νονται) ὧὰ ι.

(ἔτους) α Διοκλῆτος
Φαμενὼτ ια.

[1] OMich. 408 concerns produce of the first year of Diocletian, but carries no date. **2228** 41 refers to a second year; it might be that of Diocletian (3 September 285), but see *BASP* 6 (1969) 36 f.

1 π′ 4 ὑπ- 6 ⌐+ *Back*: three smudged lines across the fibres

'From Melas the secretary to Ammonius the chicken-man, greetings. Give Ammon the guard, for domestic supplies, ten eggs, that makes 10 eggs. Year 1 of Diocles, Phamenoth 11.'

3056

22 3B.15/G (4–7) c 10·7×7·5 cm. 284/5

↓ π(αρὰ) Ἄμμωνος Ἀμμωνίῳ χ[αίρειν.
δὸς εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ π[
ὀρνίθιον ἓν καὶ ὧὰ δέκα γ(ίνονται) .[
(ἔτους) α Φαμε[νὼ]θ [

1 π′ 3 / *Back*: blank

'From Ammon to Ammonius, greetings. Give, as supplies for . . ., one chicken and ten eggs, that makes . . . Year 1, Phamenoth . . .'

3 .[: the tall straight trace suggests γ(ίνονται) ι [rather than δ[ρνίθιον.
4 (ἔτους) α: of Diocletian, given the close connection with **3055**.

V. PRIVATE LETTERS

3057. Letter of Ammonius

27 3B.43/F (5–7) a 13·5 × 23·4 cm. First/second century

This letter is written on a substantial sheet cut from a roll (a heavy *kollesis* can be seen to the right). A single hand, neat and semi-literary, wrote both text and greeting; characteristic letters are *α*, sometimes angular and sometimes rounded, *μ* in three movements, *π* with a strongly curved right side, *υ* as a wide 'v'. This sort of script should belong to the late first or earlier second century: Schubart *Pal.* Abb. 79, which is similar though more carelessly written, dates to A.D. 94.

The writer encourages his brethren to amity, alludes to external enemies, looks forward with ragged nerves to future ordeals: many hints, small information. If the hand is rightly dated, it would be temerarious to look for a Christian context (15 ff. n.).

→ Ἀμμώνιος Ἀπολλωνίωι τῶι
ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν.
ἐκομισάμην τὴν κεχιασμένην ἐπιστολὴν
καὶ τὴν ἱματοφορίδα καὶ τοὺς φαινόλας καὶ τὰς
5 σύνριγγας οὐ καλάς, τοὺς δὲ φαινόλας οὐχ ὡς
παλαιοὺς ἔλαβον ἀλλ' εἴ τι μεῖζόν ἐστιν και-
νῶν διὰ προαίρεσιν· οὐ θέλω δέ σε, ἄδελφε, βα-
ρύνειν με ταῖς συνεχές{ες}ι φιλανθρωπίαις,
'...' οὐ δυνάμενον ἀμείψασθαι, αὐτὸ δὲ μόνον
10 ἡμεῖς προαίρεσιν φιλικῆς διαθέσεως νομί-
ζομεν παρεστακέναι σοι. παρακαλῶ
δέ σε, ἄδελφε, μηκέτι λόγον ποιεῖσθαι πε-
ρὶ τῆς κλειδὸς τῆς μονοχώρου. οὐ γὰρ θέ-
λω ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἕνεκα ἐμοῦ ἢ ἄλ-
15 λου διαφοράν τινα ἔχειν· ὁμόνοιαν γὰρ καὶ
φιλαλλη⟨λ⟩ίαν εὔχομαι ἐν ὑμεῖν διαμένειν
ἵν' ἦτε ἀκαταλήρητοι καὶ μὴ [[ἦτε]] ὁμοῖοι
ἡμεῖν. ἡ γὰρ πεῖρα ἐπάγεταί με προτρέψας-
θαι ὑμᾶς εἰρηνεύειν καὶ μὴ διδόναι ἀφορ-
20 μὰς ἑτέροις καθ' ὑμῶν· πείρασαι οὖν καὶ δι'
ἐμὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, χαρισάμενός μοι ὃ με-

τοξὺ ἐπιγνώσῃ ἀγαθόν. τὰ ἔρια ἂν ᾖς εἰλη-
φὼς παρὰ Σαλβίου πλήρη καὶ ᾖ σοι ἀρεσ-
τά, ἀντίγραψόν μοι· γελοῖα δέ σοι γέγραφα
25 διὰ τῆς προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς, ἃ παραδέξῃ·
ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ ἀνειμένη γείνεται, ὅταν τὸ
σὸν ὄνομα παρῇ, καὶ ταῦτα οὐχ ἔθος ἐχού-
σης ἠρεμεῖν διὰ τὰ ἐπερχόμενα· ἀλ⟨λ⟩' ὑπο-
φέρει Λεωνᾶς· ἀσπάζομαί σε, δέσποτα, καὶ τοὺς
30 σ[ο]ὺς πάντας· ἔρρωσο, τειμιώτατε.

(*Back* →) Ἀπολλωνίωι Ἀπολλω( ) ἐπισκέπ(τῃ) ἀδε(λφῷ).

11 -ζομεν corr. from -ζωμεν 17 [[ἦτε]]: ἠτὲ pap. 27 ὄνομα: corr. from ωνομα 30 τειμιώτατε: τει corrected 31 απολλ^ω^ επισκε¬ αδ^ε^

'Ammonius to Apollonius his brother, greetings. I received the crossed letter and the portmanteau and the cloaks and the reeds, not good ones—the cloaks I received not as old ones, but as better than new if that's possible, because of the spirit (in which they were given). But I don't want you, brother, to load me with these continual kindnesses, since I can't repay them—the only thing we suppose ourselves to have offered you is (our) feelings of friendship. Please, brother, don't concern yourself further with the key of the single room: I don't want you, my brothers, to quarrel for my sake or for anyone else's; indeed I pray for concord and mutual affection to maintain itself in you, so that you can be beyond the reach of gossip and not be like us: experience leads me to urge you to live at peace and not to give others a handle against you. So try and do this for my sake too—a favour to me, which in the interim you'll come to recognize as advantageous (to you as well). If you've received the wool from Salvius to the full amount, and if it's satisfactory, write back to me. I wrote you silly things in my previous letter, which you'll discount: the fact is my spirit relaxes when your name is there—and this though it has no habit of tranquillity, because of its pressing troubles. Well, Leonas bears up (?). My best wishes to you, master, and all your people. Good health, most honoured friend.

(Address) To Apollonius . . ., surveyor, his brother.'

2 χαίρειν: a horizontal bar is written above χ. Did the writer intend χ(αίρειν), and then decide to complete the word? 15 ff. n.

3 κεχιασμένην: the word is usually applied to contracts crossed out εἰς ἀκύρωσιν (PYale 63. 11 n.). Alternatively it might mean 'marked with an X' (LSJ s.v. II i; Eusebius, *VC* I. 31 χιαζομένου τοῦ ῥῶ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον). I don't see why the letter should have been crossed out; or why ἐπιστολή is used, if the document concerned was a contract. Some letters have *X* midway in the address, to mark a place for the fastening; but the usage should be too common for comment. Some documents use *X*'s to fill a blank line-end, as a precaution against unauthorized additions (**2576** 4–5 n.); but it is an odd precaution for a private letter. For a more dubious explanation, see 15 ff. n.

4–5 τὰς σύνριγγας οὐ καλάς: σύνριγγας for σύ{ρ}ριγγας, by analogy with compounds in συν-ρ-? Perhaps they are reels of thread, see **2593** 6 n. οὐ καλάς hardly suits so tactful a letter; the writer probably intended σύριγγά⟨ς⟩ σου.

9 '...': the last trace stands above *hypsilon* of οὐ; the first, in the left margin, descends halfway to line level. Neither ἄτε (Rea) nor μή is a quite satisfactory reading.

13 μονοχώρου: two late house-leases use the word in this sense: **1957** 12 f. ἐν το ἐθρίου (l. τῷ αἰθρίῳ) μονόχ[ωρου] σὺν χρηστηρίοις; **1964** ὁλόκληρον μονόχωρον τυγχάνον [ὑ]ποκάτω τῆς ἀ[ψ]ίδος. Cf. the use of δίχωρος in PCairMasp. 340 verso 41; *CGL* s.v. τρίχωρον *tres cameras sive tres absidas*. Latin *trichorum*,

which is already used by Statius, is alleged to mean 'room with three semi-circular niches', see Pauly–Wissowa s.v.

15 ff. Ammonius and Apollonius belong to a group of 'brothers', threatened by internal quarrels and exposed to attack from outside; for Ammonius at least the future is black (28). A Christian context would be possible: Nilus Ancyranus uses the same words, *PG* 79. 144A (*τί . . . ἀγαπᾷ τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα ἢ τὴν . . . ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν φιλαλληλίαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν;*); the burden is much the same in *I Clement*, an epistle *περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμονοίας* to the warring church of Corinth (47. 7 *καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἀκοὴ οὐ μόνον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐχώρησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἑτεροκλινεῖς ὑπάρχοντας ἀφ' ἡμῶν, ὥστε καὶ βλασφημίας ἐπιφέρεσθαι τῷ ὀνόματι Κυρίου διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀφροσύνην, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ κίνδυνον ἐπεξεργάζεσθαι*).

If a Christian context were posited, it would be tempting to equate *ἕτεροι* (20) with Clement's *ἑτεροκλινεῖς*; and to interpret the 'crossed' letter (3) as 'marked with the sign of the cross', compare the curious overlined χ̄ in line 2.

This hypothesis crumbles easily. (*a*) The sentiments are likely to have a wide distribution; cf. the equally cryptic PMerton III 115. (*b*) Only violence will produce a reference to the *σταυρός* in line 3. (*c*) The date is against it. Note that *ἐπισκόπ(ῳ)* cannot be read in 31.

17 *ἀκαταλήρητοι*: a new word. *καταληρεῖν* in the lexica has the meaning 'bore with talking'. For the sense 'talk down' cf. *καταλαλεῖν*; and *κατακράζειν* PFouad 87. 11.

28 f. *ἀλ⟨λ⟩' ὑποφέρει Λεωνᾶς*: of *φ* only the left-hand arc remains; otherwise the letters are certain. The version printed assumes that *λεωνας* is a proper name. *ὑποφέρειν* normally means 'endure', with an accusative of the disaster; this might be supplied from *ἐπερχόμενα*. A remoter alternative might be 'brings (them) upon (me)', cf. **488** 19 *οὐκ ὀλίγην βλάβην ὑποφέρει με* (l. *μοι*). Or again, 'brings (me) down' (see Lampe, *PGL* s.v.). I can do nothing with *ἄλυπος* or *ἀλυπο-*. Even the punctuation is not certain. Dr. Rea suggests a stop before *Λεωνᾶς*: an additional greeting from some other person, perhaps from the scribe himself.

31 *Απολλω( )*: *Απολλω(νίου)*? *Απολλω(νοπολίτῃ)*?

3058. Letter of Flavius to Morus

26 3B.52/D (4–6) a — 12×22 cm. — Second century

A business letter of little interest. The writing is a practised cursive, with many letters corrected or overwritten. The back is blank, except for an ink line ruled parallel with the greater dimension, and a cross mark.

→ *Φλαύιος Μώρῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.*
ἐπὶ ἐταξάμην τῷ κοινωνῷ μου
σὺν αὐτῷ ἀναβῆναι ἕνεκα τῶν
μετεώρων ἡμῶν, ἔτυχέν μοι ὀφθαλ-
5 *μιᾶσαι. διὰ τούτου οὐκ ἀνέβην·*
ἐὰν οὖν ἀναβῇ ὁ κοινωνός μου,
γενοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀπολ-
λώνιον τὸν γραμ⟨μ⟩ατέα ἡμῶν
καὶ ἀπάρτισαι τὰ ζητούμενα
10 *πρὸς ἡμᾶς· γενοῦ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖν*
τὸν ἀρχέφοδον καὶ ἐπίγνωτι ἢ ἔδω-

κε τὰς τρεῖς μνᾶς τῷ τὸ σειτικόν·
ἐὰν μὴ ᾖν δεδοκώς, ἀπήταιςον
τὸν Πτολεμαῖ⟨ν⟩ τὴν μ⟨ν⟩ᾶ⟨ν⟩ ς᾽ου'· ἕως οὖν
15 *ἀναβῶ, ἔρρωσο.*

ὑπέταξά σοι τοκαταμμαρα τοῦ
πυροῦ· ἔστι δέ· ἐν μὲν οἰκίᾳ
Ἀμεννέως αὐλητοῦ (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) φη
ἐν δὲ Σαραπᾶτος οἰκίᾳ (ἀρτ.) υπ
20 *καὶ παρὰ Εὐαγγέλ᾽λ᾽ου [[ενχειρ.παθε...*
(πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) ϛγ]] καὶ ἐν δημοσίοις θησαυροῖς
τὸ λεῖπον.

2 l. *ἐπεὶ* 4 χ of *ετυχεν* corr. 7 *συ(ν)* corr. 11 *η* corr. l. *ἐπίγνωθι εἰ* 12 (*τ*)*ο* corr. 13 l. *ᾖ δεδωκὼς ἀπαίτησον* 14 (*ο*)*υν* corr. 18, 21 ⲝ ⸗

'Flavius to Morus his brother, greetings. After I arranged with my partner to come up for our business pending, I went and got ophthalmia. This is why I didn't come up. So if my partner comes up, go with him to Apollonius our secretary and settle the matters under dispute with us. Go to Ptolemaeus the policeman and discover whether he's given the three minas to the corn man. If he hasn't given them, dun Ptolemaeus for your mina (?). So, until I come up—good health!

I've subjoined the list (?) for the wheat, as follows: in the house of Amenneus the flute-player, 508 art. of wheat; in the house of Sarapas, 480 art.; from Evangelus . . . and in the public granaries the remainder.'

12 *τῷ τὸ σειτικόν*: sc. *ἀπαιτοῦντι*?

14 The papyrus has *τονπ[[ρ]]τολεμαιτηνμαϲἔωσο[[..]]ψν*. The emended text printed does at least harmonize with line 12.

15 The writer seems to have combined the abbreviation *ερρ⁻* with the full form *ερρωσο*.

16 *τοκαταμμαρα*: he must have intended *τὸ κατ' ἄνδρα*. Possibly he did in fact write *αγτρα* for *ανδρα*; if so both *ν* and *τ* are anomalous. Or *κατὰ ⟨κα⟩μάραν* (Turner).

18 *αὐλητοῦ*: or possibly *Αὐλητοῦ*.

20–21 *ενχειρ.παθε...* (*πυρ.*) (*ἀρτ.*) *ϛγ*: this phrase is overlined as far as (*πυρ.*), and underlined up to the end: I have taken this, doubtfully, as a mark of deletion. The first part is difficult. (*a*) *ἐν χειρί* might be read, then e.g. *Παθ...c* (but neither *Παθέως* nor *Παθείους* will fit). But one might expect a plural, if the meaning is 'in the keeping of', cf. BGU 844. 8 f., 1095. 12. (*b*) Some form of *ἐγχειρίζειν* would suit the sense; but I can find nothing which suits the traces.

3059. Letter of Didyme to Apollonius

20 3B.37/G (1–2) a 11·5×7·5 cm. Second century

A fragmentary letter, remarkable only for the striking metaphor of affection in lines 2–5.

→ *Διδύμη Ἀπολλωνίωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι* (*Back* →) *ἀπὸ Διδύ[μης*
καὶ ἡλίωι χαίρειν.
γείνωσκέ με μὴ βλέπουσαν τὸν ἥλιον
διὰ τὸ μὴ βλέπεσθαί σε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ·
5 *οὐ γὰρ ἔχω ἄλλον ἥλιον εἰ μὴ σέ. εὐ-*
χαριστῶ δὲ Θεωνᾶτι τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου
...].αι ἃ ἔπεμψα τῷ πατρί σου
...].ο Θέωνος Ἀθηναίου τοῦ φίλου
. . . .

'Didyme to Apollonius her brother and sun, greetings. You must know that I do not view the sun, because you are out of my view; for I have no sun but you. I am grateful to your brother Theonas. (Take delivery of?) what I have sent to your father . . . Theon son of Athenaeus your friend . . .'

1 Above this line is a single sign, approximately centred, in shape like a thickly written cursive beta.

2 *ἡλίωι*: the nearest parallel I have found is in Galen (xix 680 K), who addresses a friend as *ἥλιε τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς*.

7–8 The writer tends to divide words; there are slight spaces to suggest the articulation after].αι and].ο. In 7 perhaps *κόμ]ϛαι*.

3060. Letter of Ptolemaeus to Horis

22 3B.20/A (3–4) a 15·8×22·2 cm. Second century

This letter is largely taken up with the usual catalogue of goods received; the asyndetic sentences are uncompromisingly businesslike. There are a few points of lexical interest. The hand is of the earlier second century.

→ *Πτολεμα[ῖ]ος Ὡρεῖτι [τῷ] ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.*
ἐκομι[σά]μην ἐφίππ[ιον] παρὰ Ϛαραπᾶτος καὶ
σύνθε[σι]ν Ϛπανὴν ἡ[μιτ]ριβῆν [τεθ]ερα̣πευμένην
καὶ ἐπικ[ά]ρσιον ὁμοίως ἡμι̣τρ[ιβῆ]ν καὶ τῷ παιδί μου
5 *κουκκ[.]λον πορφυροῦν ἄγναφον καὶ ἄ[λ]λο χιτώ-*
νιον ζμαράγδινον [π]άντα ἐν ἰλήματι̣ καινῷ
λεντίῳ καὶ κανίσκ[ιο]ν ὑελοῦν καὶ κεράμιον τα-

ραχίων καὶ κρα̣βάτην καὶ κα̣σι̣τ̣ερινα̣.[.].γ̣.ατρια
ἐν καλωδίῳ ....α .υ̣.αικ̣ε̣ια δ̄ χιτώνιον λευκὸν
10 *παιδικὸν καὶ κάμπτραν καὶ ῥ̣ά̣β̣δον· οὐκ ἐκο-*
μισάμην τὴν μνᾶν τοῦ ἐριδίου τοῦ λωδίνου·
πέμψον Τρύφωνα ἢ τὴν κυρίαν ἐπεὶ αὐτός
με ὑπηρετεῖ· [[δεδωκας]] ὑποτέθειμαι τὰ ἱμά-
τια τὰ λευκὰ ἕνεκα τιμῆς ϛι̣τ̣ου ἵνα φάγωμεν.
15 *ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι.*
κέχρημαι παρὰ Τρύφωνος δραχμὰς ὀκτώ.

(*Back* →) *ἀπόδος Ὡρεῖτι ἀπὸ Πτολεμα[[λεμ]]ίου ἀδε̣λφ̣ο̣ῦ* .....

3, 4 l. *ἡμιτριβῆ* 13 *ὑπηρετει ἳμα-*

'Ptolemaeus to Horis his brother, greetings. I have received a saddle-cloth from Sarapas, and a Spanish outfit, half-worn and repaired, and a striped (?) garment, likewise half-worn, and for my boy a purple hood, unfulled, and another tunic, emerald-green—all in a new linen wrapping; and a glass basket and a jar of pickled fish and a mattress and . . . tin . . . in . . . a child's white tunic and a chest and a rod. I have not received the mina of lotus-coloured (?) wool. Send Tryphon or the mistress, since the master himself is helping me. I have pawned the white cloaks for the price of corn so that we can eat. I pray for your health. I have borrowed eight drachmas from Tryphon.'

(Address) 'Deliver to Horis from Ptolemaeus his brother . . .'

5 *κουκκ[.]λον*: Latin *cucullus*; the diminutive *κουκκούλιον* is known elsewhere (PMich. 482. 4 and n.). The expected spelling would be *κούκκ[ου]λον* but the space seems to allow only one letter in the lacuna.

6–7 *ἐν ἰλήματι̣ καινῷ λεντίῳ*: if the readings are right, *λεντίῳ* must be an adjective (*linteo*); elsewhere in the papyri the word is always neuter as a noun. For *εἴλημα*, in the sense of 'wrapping', LSJ cites the unidentified Ionic writer *ap.* Stobaeus 3. 28. 21 (p. 624 l. 13 Wachsmuth); add Epiphanius, *haer.* 42. 11; *CGL* *εἴλημα . . . volucrum . . .*

8 *κρα̣βάτην*, if correct, must be for *κραβάτιον*. In what follows, the most likely division is *κασ⟨σ⟩ιτέρινα .[.].χ̣.α τρία*; of the middle word I can make nothing, indeed the second element of the group which I have read as *χ̣.* looks like nothing at all in this hand. Granted that *τρία* is the numeral, the next word will be *ἐν* and not *ἕν*. *καλωδίῳ* should refer to a container or wrapping (the letters are certain, except the final *ω*, which is overwritten, or perhaps intersected by an extended horizontal from the next letter). *καλώτιον* with *τ* appears three times in papyri: **920** 5 in a list of foodstuffs; PRyl. 172. 15 *καλώτια δώδεκα* as part of the rent-in-kind of a palm-grove; SB I 1. 25 *ῥιζία δύο καλωτίων ἢ λαβῶν καὶ ρι[.....κ]ορακίων*; perhaps also OTait P. 295. 9 (*BL* iii 270) *καλοῦτιν βράκανον*. It is tempting to understand the word as a foodstuff produced in palm-groves. But this hardly suits SB 1, where the context is all objects and implements. There is moreover a similar word *καλούσιον* (-*ώσιον* PCZ I 59–014 b 11) which clearly refers to some kind of container: of wine PCZ IV 59–698. 33 etc., of meat PCZ I 59–012. 44 and PSI 428. 55. (All these come from the Zeno archive.) 'Jar' would fit our text; and indeed OTait P. 295, if *βρακάνον* (for -*ων*) is a right conjecture. But I cannot reconcile the other instances.

9 ....*α̣.υ̣.αικ̣ε̣ια*: *γυναικεῖα* is almost irresistible, but I cannot make the traces into a *ν*; before it possibly *πάλ[λ]ι̣α*. The apparent absence of connective *καί* before the two items in 9 is odd: so there may be some basic flaw in the reading.

11 *λωδίνου*: there is a trace between *ο* and *υ*, which I have taken to be accidental. *ν* seems to be certain; not *λωδικίου*. The writer presumably intended *λωτίνου*: lotus-coloured?

3061–3062. Letters to Archelaus

33 4B.82/F (1–3) a–b | **3061.** 12 × 18·8 cm. **3062.** 8·7 × 30 cm. | First century

These two letters come from the same layer of papyri, and were presumably found together; this suggests that the Archelaus addressed is the same in both. Archelaus served at some time as secretary to the strategus of the Panopolite (**3062** 17 f.); one friend was secretary to an εἰcαγωγεύc (15). He moved, that is, in official circles; and so knew how to obtain a policeman and an order to arrest (**3061** 9). For the rest, his correspondents deal in commonplace private business. The interest of the letters is in the view they give of the world of petty bureaucrats; the contempt for 'Egyptians', **3061** 13, continues the tradition of Theocritus 15. 48 and anticipates **1681** and PGiss. 40 ii 28 f.

To judge from the hands, this correspondence belongs to the period Claudius–Vespasian.

3061

→ Ἡρακλᾶc Ἀρχελάωι τῶι υἱῶι
χαίρειν.
κόμιcαι διὰ Παcηέ̣ουc τὸ̣ δελ-
φάκ[ιον] καὶ ψιαθ[.....].[
5 [[κ̣υθρα]] 'β̣αυκ̣αλ(ίῳ)' μόcχια κρέα ε̄ καὶ
ἡ̣ψη{μη}μένα ἐν χάρτῃ ἀρι̣θ(μῷ) ϛ
καὶ ἐν χειλώματι κριθῆc χ(οίνικαc) δ.
καλῶc ποιήcειc πέμψαc μοι
ἐρημοφύλακα cὺν διπλώματι
10 ἐπὶ Λαcτᾶν Θώνιοc ἀπὸ Τήεωc,
ἐπεὶ ὕβριν μοι οὐ μεικρὰν
παρέcχεν. ὅρα οὖν μὴ ἀμελή-
cῃc. οἶδαc γὰρ τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπ(τίων).
ἐάν τινοc ἄλλου χρήζῃc, γρά-
15 φε. οὐκ ἔπεμψά coι παλαιὸν κερ̣ά̣(μον)
μὴ ἀνάγκῃ περιcτῶμεν 'ἐὰν' ἐνθά-
δε [[εαν]] cὺν τῷ ἐγλογιcτῇ παραγε( ).
ἔρρω(co).

Left margin 19 ἔγραψε Ἀπολλώνιοc Πτο̣λ(εμαίου) "περὶ τοῦ ἐγλογιcτοῦ ἐάν τι
20 ἦ̣ν δ̣ήλωcόν̣ [μ]οι".

Back → X Ἀρχελάωι υἱῶι.

5 βαυκα^λ 1. μόcχεια 6 αρι^θ 7 ^δ/_χ 13 αιγυ) 15 κερ^L 17 παραγ^ε 18 ερρ^ω 19 πτ^ο

'Heraclas to Archelaus his son, greetings. Receive through Pases (?) the piglet and . . . rush-mats . . . five pieces of veal (in?) a pot and boiled pieces in paper 6 in number and 4 choenices of barley in a box. Please send me a desert-guard with an order against Lastas son of Thonis from Teis, since he's offered me considerable violence. Make sure you look after it. You know how the Egyptians are. If you have any other requirement, write. I haven't sent you an old jar (?), in case we should find ourselves in a tight spot if you (?) arrive here with the accountant. Good health!

(margin) Apollonius son of Ptolemaeus has written 'About the accountant, let me know if anything turns up.'

(address) To Archelaus my son.'

3 Παcηέ̣ουc: η is more probable than ν or υ; μ seems to be excluded by the narrowness of the trace.

4 ψιαθ[: ψίαθοc or ψιάθιον. The other articles in the list are edible. It may be then that the matting is the wrapping, as for the consignment of meat in PBeattyPanop. 1. 121 f. and 161 f. But the space allows only a numeral, not a defining genitive, given the probable restoration of the next line: e.g. ψιάθ[ουc β̄ κα]ὶ̣ [ἐν] | β̣αυκ̣αλ(ίῳ) μόcχια κρέα ε̄.

5 [[κυθρα]]: the scribe wrote ἐν] κύθρᾳ, then replaced the noun with the more precise β̣αυκαλίῳ. κρέα must be joints of meat, as at **2190** 63; in pots, as e.g. PRyl. 627. 72 (ἀγγεῖα), **1923** 10 (διπλᾶ).

6 An interlinear insertion. The boiled meat was wrapped in papyrus, like the fish of the Roman markets (*Parola del Passato* 121 (1968) 287). **2571** 11 has meat ἐν αργυρι....αρτ̣αιc, but the problems of the passage remain unsolved.

8–9 A desert-policeman and an order to arrest: Archelaus could use his position in the office of the strategus, from which such orders usually emanated (PLund VI p. 5); a rather similar proceeding in **2730**, which again calls the document διπλωμάτιον. But there is a practical difficulty about this hypothesis. The man to be arrested comes from Teis, which is in the Thmoesepho toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite; but it is the strategus of the Panopolite to whom Archelaus is attached in **3062** 17, and the Panopolite village of Zmis where he is to be found (ib. 4). It is still possible that his official career gave him special influence in the matter of Lastas; but apparently a different stage of his career from that represented in **3062**.

15 κερά̣(μον) assumes that the hooked stroke above ρ represents *alpha*. Otherwise κέρ(μα) (Rea) might be read; for mentions of παλαιὸν νόμιcμα (all 3rd cent.) see Johnson and West, *Currency* 68 f.

17 παραγε( ): παραγέ(νῃ)? or παραγέ(νηται)/-γέ(νωνται)? The situation was perhaps this: Heraclas half-expects someone (the strategus?) to arrive with the eclogistes, i.e. the Alexandrian official who oversaw the nome finances; the better wine has to be reserved for this eventuality. Numerous documents show the eclogistes receiving reports and writing for information and investigation (most recently PPetaus 25). But I have found no other mention of a visit in person. It would obviously be a difficult occasion, and Apollonius (line 19) is accordingly anxious for early warning.

The reading supposes a cursive γ not exampled elsewhere in this letter. Palaeographically, c would be more plausible; but I don't see what to do with παρὰ cὲ or παρακε( ).

19–20 ἦ̣ν for ᾖ, as e.g. PMich. 477. 13, 487. 14, 511. 12, **3058** 13. We might put a stop before ἐάν; or better take περὶ τοῦ ἐγλογιcτοῦ and all that follows as Apollonius' quoted words.

3062

→ Сαραπίων Ἀρχελάωι
τῶι ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.
τὸν ἱστὸν τῶν ἐπι-
καρσίων εἰς Ζμεῖνα
5 ἐκόμισα ὡς καταλαμ-
βάνων ὑμᾶς, καὶ πάν-
τως ἄν σοι πεπόμφειν,
εἰ μὴ Ἑρμῆς μοι ἀ-
πήγγειλε δεδωκέ-
10 ναι σοι ᾽ἕτερα᾽. οἱ σοὶ πάντες
ἔρρωνται.
εὔχομαί σε ἐρρῶσθαι,
ἄδελφε.
(*m.*²) Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ συνγρ( )
15 Θέωνος εἰσαγωγέως
πολλά σε ἀσπάζομαι.

17 (*Back* → *m.*²?) Ἀρχελάωι γραμματεῖ Θέωνο(ς) στρα(τηγοῦ) Πανοπ(ολίτου).

14 συνγρ̣ 17 θεωνο̣ στρ̄ πανο)

'Sarapion to Archelaus his brother, greetings. I took the length of transverse fabric to Zmis, assuming that I'd find you there; and I would in any case have sent it to you, but that Hermes reported that he had given you others. All your people are well. I pray for your health, brother. (2nd hd.) I, Apollonius, fellow secretary of Theon the court-clerk, send you many greetings.'
(Address) 'To Archelaus, secretary of Theon the strategus of the Panopolite.'

3–4 τὸν ἱστὸν τῶν ἐπικαρσίων: I take ἱστόν to be a 'length' of material, rather than the loom on which material of this kind is woven. Cf. PSI 387. 5 ἡμιτυβίων ἱστόν, Ps.-Aristeas 320 (p. 84 Wendland) βυσσίνων ὀθονίων ἱστοὺς ἑκατόν, of which the second at least is unambiguous. The noun ἐπικάρσιον is glossed *amiculum* in the *CGL*. The basic meaning of the adjective is 'sideways': i.e. 'striped', according to the dictionaries; 'woven on a horizontal loom' (as opposed to ὀρθοϋφικά), according to POslo II 56. 5 n. If the former, compare the striped stuffs from Dura (*Final Report* IV ii 13).
4 Ζμεῖνα: a village in the Panopolite, PCairoMasp. 170 and 171.
14 συνγρ( ): BGU 451. 14 attests the noun συγγραμματεύς; cf. **1427** 2 συγγραμ(ματεύοντι). If either is the correct resolution here, συν- must have a rather wide sense: Apollonius and Archelaus are colleagues because both are γραμματεῖς, not because they work for the same master.
15 εἰσαγωγέως: the prefect had an εἰσαγωγεύς on his staff, see PHamb. I pp. 78 f. and PStrass. 179. 7 f.; so did strategi, cf. PFay. 23 a 3 γενόμενος γραμματεὺς νομῶν τινων ἰδίου λόγου καὶ ἰσαγωγεὺς στρατηγοῦ Ἀμμωνιακῆς. The other references specify no employer. It is an easy guess that Theon here was clerk to the strategus Theon of line 17.

3063. Letter of Diogenes to Apollogenes

34 4B.78/D (14) 16×25·5 cm. Second century

A vigorous and literate letter about agricultural matters. The body of the text is written in a back-sloping hand; characteristic forms are ε, η (in the 'h' shape), κ tall and narrow, μ (in three movements), broken τ, wide υ, ω flattened at the base. Some features of this could belong to the first century (e.g. **3051**); the general type belongs to the second, compare Schubart, *Pal.* Abb. 35 (Hadrian) and others cited by Cavallo, *Aeg.* 45 (1965) 227 f.; it has been seen as the first stage of the 'Chancery' style. The second hand is more advanced in the same direction: notice the tall, straight-backed ε and c (the cap of c sometimes a separate tick).

The cutting down of vines (3 ff.) was a serious matter; taxes could be reduced on the land (**2847** i 5–6). But here apparently the ground was to be sown, not replanted.

The back has been reused for two columns of accounts, largely illegible. I cannot make out the remains of an address among them.

→ Διογένης Ἀπολλογένει τῶι φιλτάτωι
..... χαίρειν.
μυριάκις [γ]εγραφὼς ἐκκόψαι τὰ πρὸς τῷ Φάι
αμπε[..]. ὡς ἔδοξεν Δημητρ[ί]ῳ τῷ γυμνασι-
5 άρχῳ καὶ Ἀδράστῳ καὶ Σώτᾳ πάλιν σου ἔλαβον
ἐπιστολὴν σήμερον πυνθανομένου τί βού-
λομαι γενέσθαι· πρὸς ἣν ἀντιγράφω ἔκκοψον ἔκκο-
ψον ἔκκοψον ἔκκοψον ἔκκοψον· ἰδοὺ πλειστάκις
λέγω· καὶ σπαρήτῳ οἷς δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ τῆς
10 ..[....]..της νῦν ἐν χόρτῳ οὔσης ὅταν ὁ χόρ-
τος βρωθῇ ἢ κοπῇ· θαυμάζω εἰ χρεία ἐστὶ τρι-
ῶν ζευγῶν εἰς ἐπαντλησμὸν τῆς ἐν Χαλώ-
θει ἀμπέλου εἰς ὀλίγον περιεσταμένης· οὐ γὰρ
τῆς τειμῆς ἐστιν τοῦ περισσοῦ ζεύγους ὡς τῶν
15 τροφῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης δαπάνης· εἰ δέ γε σὺ δο-
κεῖς χρείαν εἶναι, διάπεμψαι τὴν ἐπιστολήν
μου εἰς Ὀξυρυγχ...ν πρὸς Σαραπίωνα ἣν συνειλη-
.]..[.....].η, ᾧ δηλώσεις πότερον ἀρσενικὸν
θέλεις [.....] ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρς[ένων θη-
20 λυκὸν .ο....ον δὲ θηλυκοῦ χρείαν εχ.[....
ἐλάσσονα (*m.*²) ᾽εἶσθι᾽ [[τρ]]. ἐκομισάμην δε[....
τὸ κεράμιον τῆς ἐλαίας τὰ δὲ ἄλλα [....

γέγρ[α]φα, φύλαccε ἕ'ως ἂν πα[ρ]ὰ coὶ γένωμαι.
ἔρρωco φίλτατε
25 Ἀπολλογένη.

ἔρρω(co). Μεχ(εὶρ) ῖς.

26 ερῶ μἔ

'Diogenes to Apollogenes his very dear friend, greetings. A thousand times I've written to you to cut down the vines at Phai (?), as Demetrius the gymnasiarch and Adrastus and Sotas decided. But today again I get a letter from you asking what I want done. To which I reply: cut them down, cut them down, cut them down, cut them down, cut them down: there you are, I say it again and again. They are to be sown with what has to go there, along with the . . . which is now under fodder, once the fodder is eaten up or harvested. I find it surprising if it needs three pairs of oxen to water the vineyard at Chalothis, which hasn't come to much. It isn't so much a matter of the cost of the extra pair, as of their feed and the other expenses. But if you do think it's needed, send on my letter to . . . to Sarapion . . . You will inform him whether you want a male . . . a female instead of the males. I must tell you that . . . has (?) less need of the female. (2nd hd.) I received the jar of oil. The other things I've written about, keep them until I join you. Good health, my dear friend Apollogenes. Good health. Mecheir 16.'

1 Ἀπολλογένει satisfies the traces, and is a possible reading of the very cursive line 25. (Not -φανει.) The name does not appear in *NB* or Foraboschi, *Onomasticum* or Pape–Benseler, except that grammarians comment on the formation. But an Arcadian of this name appears in a Delphic inscription of *c.* 200 B.C. (see *RE* s.v.); another is the apex of an amorous triangle in Aristaenetus, *Ep.* 2. 11.

2 .....: one expects a word here to balance χαίρειν; and there are indeed discolorations which might be the traces of *c.* 6 letters.

3 μυριάκις: not in WB or its supplements; but PSI 1334. 9 ἐπέστειλά coι γὰρ μυριαντάκις. It is a rare word in any case; Stephanus quotes among post-classical authors only Archimedes (in the literal sense) and Galen (in the loose sense). The form in -αντάκις is apparently accommodated to numeral forms in -άντα (as in Modern Greek).

τῷ Φάι: the letters seem certain. If this articulation is right, cf. PSI 77. 13 (lease from Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 551/65) ἐδάφους Φάει; but clearly the reading is doubtful. Φάνι (**2195** 113) cannot be read here.

4 ..μπε[..]. : the final trace might be the tail of α (ignoring some stray ink after it); perhaps ἀμπέ[λι]α, though the diminutive does not occur elsewhere in the papyri. The space is rather short for -[λικ]ά.

9 cπαρήτω: of τ only the left half of the cross-bar; of ω only something which might be the final upright.

10 The traces at the beginning are minimal. ..[....]ης τῆς could be read.

14 ἐcτιν: the meaning is presumably 'it isn't so much a question of . . .' But I can't find any parallel.

17 Ὀξυρυγχ...ν: οξυρυγχον was written; above ο a superscribed ε followed by traces. Presumably he intended Ὀξυρυγχείτην or -τῶν?

17 f. Cf. POslo 84. 3 c]υνείληca τῇ ἐπιcολῇ. It is likely enough that Diogenes enclosed a second letter, to be sent to Sarapion in case of need. The clause ended]cη or]τη; before that the preserved strip of papyrus (which should show the lower halves of letters) is blank, for the space of at least three letters. Perhaps then cυνείληι[c]α [ταύ] (*vac.*) τη. But I should have expected the feet of ταυ to show.

20 I had tried ποτερον δε; but this fails on the ρ (the trace is an unsuitably short and oblique descender). Possibly (a name) δὲ θ. χρείαν ἔχε[ιν.]ο.κ̣ε̣λον suits the traces.

21 e.g. δὲ [καὶ.

22 e.g. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα [ἅπερ.

24 ff. The hand is much more cursive than in 21–3; but the ink and pen look the same; probably therefore the same writer in a hurry.

3064. Letter of Theagenes and Panechotes

4 1B.61/K (b) 9·2 × 10·3 cm. Third century

This letter is more or less complete except at the foot; the back is blank. The writers address themselves to an unnamed village community. Their communication is in two sections, divided by a blank line-end in 8; in both the subject is liturgies.

Lines 2–7. Representatives of the nome had approached a procurator, complaining that someone had registered them in the city, that is in the metropolis instead of in their own village; the procurator in answer has handed them over to the villagers to do liturgical service. It is a good guess that the aim of the officials (whoever they were) who made these registrations was to increase the number of those liable to metropolite liturgies. If this is right, **3064** reflects the situation Septimius Severus deals with by enacting μὴ δεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν κωμητ[ῶν εἰς τὰ]ς μητροπολειτικὰς ἄγεcθαι λειτουρ[γ]είας (SB 7696. 83); the continuing tendency leads to the trial before Appius Sabinus, SB 7696.

Lines 9–13. This section concerns individuals. Dionysius is perhaps one of those misregistered, the comarch the responsible official; a charge is to be brought in the court of the epistrategus.

The hand is a decent cursive of the second or earlier third century. The mention of a comarch, and the liturgical quarrel, make the third-century date much more likely (10 n.).

→ Θ]εαγένης καὶ Πανεχώτης τοῖς
ἀπὸ κώμης χαίρειν.
εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς θέλομεν ὅτι πάντες
οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ νομοῦ προcῆλθαν τῷ
5 ἐπιτρόπῳ ἕνεκεν τῶν ἀπογρα-
ψάντων αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλειν, καὶ
παραδέδωκεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς κωμή-
ταις εἰς λειτουργίαν·
Διονύcιος δὲ ὁ υἱὸς Παταήcιος
10 μετέδωκε τῷ κωμάρχῃ ὥcτε
εἰ]πεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπιcτρα-
τήγ]ου ἕνεκεν τῆς λιτουργίας
...]. θέλετε ἀνέλθατε (*vac.*) ....[
].ε̣..α̣[
. . . . . .

3 ὑμας 5 επιτροπω: ω corr. from ου 9 ὑιος

'Theagenes and Panechotes to those of the village, greetings. We want you to know that all those from the nome approached the procurator about those who have registered them in the city, and he has handed them over to the villagers for liturgical service.

And Dionysius the son of Pataesis has indicated to the comarch that he should speak (?) against him before the epistrategus about the liturgy . . .'

5 f. *ἀπογραψάντων αὐτοὺς*: the use of the active is striking, and must refer to the officials who made the registration; if the meaning were 'those who have registered themselves', the middle would be required. But who were the officials? and what kind of *ἀπογραφή* is meant? The appeal against it goes to an *ἐπίτροπος*: he might be identified with the epistrategus of line 11. Or was it some special procurator?

9 ff. *μετέδωκε* will mean 'inform', or perhaps 'deliver a summons'. But the rest is ambiguous: *αὐτόν* might be Dionysius or the comarch; the subject of *εἰ]πεῖν* might be Dionysius, the comarch, or the villagers. Easiest perhaps 'Dionysius has informed the comarch that he (the comarch) is to answer him (Dionysius) before the epistrategus in the matter of the liturgy . . .' This fits, given the function of the comarch in submitting nominations for liturgies. But I am not sure that it coheres with the abuses implied in 5–6. If Dionysius is the guilty official, and the comarch is to speak against him, line 9 must be *nominativus pendens*.

10 *κωμάρχῃ*: the office survives from the Ptolemaic period for a few years (OFayûm 8 of A.D. 5); then vanishes until the third century. The earliest attestations are: *Oxyrhynchite* A.D. 209/10 (**2121** 84, where the expansion *κω(μάρχης)* is very likely, given the subject of the text), A.D. 247/8 (**2123** 5); *Heracleopolite* A.D. 223 (PRossGeorg. V 20 R 3–4, as corrected in *BL* iii 158); *Fayûm* A.D. 226/7 (PLond. 1157 R, see for the date *JRS* 57 (1967) 137 n. 29), A.D. 250–253/6 (SB 9408–9, Heroninus Archive); *Marmarica c.* A.D. 204 (PMarm.: for the date see Rea, *Par. del Pass.* 112 (1967) 50–52). (PLond. 1220, of A.D. *c.* 202–7, has been corrected by Dr. J. D. Thomas. The other items cited by H. E. L. Missler, *Der Komarch* 131 f., are uncertainly dated and sometimes uncertainly read.)

3065. Letter of Arius to Agrippina and Cornelius

20 3B.36/J (2–3) a 19·8 × 25 cm. Third century

A substantial sheet, written in a fine large cursive of the third century. It was probably the same hand which wrote, though more hastily, the final greeting (21–3). The letter was folded up, and the address added on each of the two outer surfaces of the packet.

The writer is called Arius, and his brother Stephanus; but the parents he addresses have Roman names, Cornelius and Agrippina. The style of the letter is jerky and repetitious, the grammar vulgar. Either Arius was a better penman than he was composer; or the whole thing was dictated.

The content is tantalizing. Arius is about to make his escape from an embattled city, where unheard-of atrocities have happened, 'not war but man-eating'. The city is down-river from Oxyrhynchus (11). One might guess that it was Alexandria, and derive the letter from the battles which took place there rather frequently in the third century—the massacre under Caracalla (215), the contest between Macrinus and Elagabalus, the rising of Macrianus and Quietus, the Palmyrene wars, the revolt of Domitius Domitianus—or the incidental civil wars and pogroms. I see no way of choosing among these, except that the hand suggests the earlier rather than the later third

century (cf. e.g. PBerol. 7216, *Aeg.* 45 (1965) pl. 8, reign of Severus Alexander). The general subject and tone have a close parallel in PRossGeorg. III 1, which Roberts referred to the events of 268–70 (see *Aus Antike und Orient*, Festschrift Schubert, 112).

The surface of the papyrus is badly rubbed, and reading is often difficult. I am particularly indebted to Dr. John Shelton for his help.

→ *Ἄρει[ος] Ἀγριππίνῃ καὶ Κορνηλίωι τοῖς γονεῦσι*
πολλὰ χαίρειν.
πρὸ μὲν πάντων ε̣ὔχ̣[ο]μαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας
ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου Στεφάνου. ἤδη πολλὰς ἐπιστο-
5 *λὰς ὑμῖν ἔγραψα δηλῶν ὅτι μ[έλλ]ω πλέειν καὶ σωθῆ-*
ναι τῆς πόλεω[ς] τ̣άχα δὲ ..... περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε
γενομ[έ]ν[ω]ν· τ̣ο̣ι̣αῦ[τ]α γέγο̣ν̣εν οἷα οὐδέποτε ἐκ τοῦ
αἰῶν[ο]ς γέγονεν· νῦν ἀνθρωποφαγεία ἐστὶν καὶ οὐ πόλε-
μος .[..].....ο̣σεσ̣τ̣.....της π̣ό̣λεως εὑρεθεὶς νῦν
10 *η̣ομ̣..λω.π̣.....[..].δ̣ε̣..ω τ̣ῷ Ἐπείφ· δηλ[ώ]σ̣ει*
δέ σοι Ἀ̣υ̣φ̣ά̣νουσ̣α̣ τ̣ὴν ἡ̣μέραν ᾗ̣ [ἀ]ν[απλ]εύσω καὶ τὸ ὄ̣νο-
μα δι' ο̣[ὗ] ἐ̣ὰ̣ν σοι πέμψῃ ᾗ̣ [κ]α̣τ̣έλιπ[ο]ν τ̣ραγήματα· ἔστιν δέ·
κάροια δι̣α̣κόσια καὶ ἰ̣σχάδες διακοσίας καὶ γραφ̣ὶ̣α δύο·
αὐτὰ λήμψῃ μετὰ κ̣αὶ ἐπιστολῃ̣..[..]η̣ς̣· διὸ κυρία μου
15 *μήτηρ [.].εν.α̣κη.....λεον χαίρου ὅτι ἔξω τῆς*
πόλεώς ε̣ἰμι· ἐγὼ γὰ̣ρ ἤθ̣ε̣λον [π]ρ̣ὸ̣ς σὲν ἐλθεῖν, ἡ δὲ τῆς
πόλεως ἀνθρω....μ̣α̣ οὐκ ἀφῆκέν με· ἀλλὰ ἐὰν ζῶ-
μεν ..οκαις.....[.· ἄ]ς̣π̣α̣σαι τὸν ἀδελφόν μου
Στέφανον καὶ .....ν σου· ἄσπασαι πρὸς ὄνομα
20 *πάντας τοὺς ὑμᾶς φιλοῦντας πολλά.*
ἐ̣[ρρῶσθ]α̣ι̣ ὑμᾶς εὔχομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις
.....ουντας καὶ ὁμονοοῦντας.
.... Ἐπεὶφ ε″

(*Back* →)

24 *ἀπόδ̣ο̣ς̣ .....ρσα μυροπώλῃ ἵνα ἀπ[οδῷ Ἀ]γριππίνῃ μητρὶ*
25 *π(αρὰ) Ἀρείου υἱοῦ.*
26 *ἀ̣π̣[ό]δ(ος) εν..[..]..χει....[.] μυροπώλῃ εἴν' ἀ̣π̣ο̣δ(ῷ)*
Ἀγριππίνῃ μ̣η̣τ̣ρὶ π(αρὰ) Ἀρείου.

1, 24, 27 *αγριπ'πινη* 4 *ϋμων* 13 l. *κάρυα* *ἰσχάδας* or *διακόσιαι* 25 *ϋιου*

'Arius to Agrippina and Cornelius his parents, many greetings. Before all else I pray to the god for your health and that of my brother Stephanus. I've already written you many letters saying that I'm about to sail and get clear of the city. Perhaps . . . about what's happened here. Things have happened, the like of which hasn't happened through all the ages. Now it's cannibalism, not war . . . Auxanousa will tell you the day on which (?) I'm going to sail up river, and the name, whoever it is by whom (?) she sends the dried fruit I left behind, viz., two hundred walnuts and two hundred figs and two pens—these you will receive with . . . letter as well. So . . . rejoice the more, my lady mother, because I am outside the city . . . I wanted to come to you, but the . . . of the city has kept me here. Well, if we survive . . . My best wishes to my brother Stephanus and your . . . Many best wishes to all those who love you, each by name. I pray for your health for many years as you live in good fortune (?) and harmony. . . . Epeiph 5.'

(Address) 'Deliver to . . . the myrrh-seller, so that he can deliver it to Agrippina my mother from her son Arius.'

1 *Ἀγριππίνῃ*: there is space for one letter before the *ν*, perhaps accidental; in 24 the reading is certain. The name is not in *NB* or Foraboschi, *Onomasticum*.

6 *τάχα δὲ*: possibly *τάχα δὲ ἠκούσ[σα]τε* (Turner).

9 Perhaps .[..].....*ος ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως κτλ.* The first letter is *λ* or *μ*.

10 At the beginning *μελλω* would be a good reading; then *ν* or perhaps *ει*, *εγ*, *ει*; what follows would allow *πλέειν*. E.g. *μέλλων πλέειν* or *μέλλω ἐκπλέειν* (Shelton). But I cannot fit in the first two letters, of which *ο* is certain and *η* likely; not *διο*.

14 *αὐτὰ*: first in its sentence: an anticipation of Modern Greek usage for which Ljungvik (*Beiträge* 8) quotes **1592** 6 *αὐτὰ γὰρ δεξαμένη* 'having received these letters'.

ἐπιστολη..[..]*ης*: perhaps *ἐπιστολῆς ἕ[μ]ῆς* or *ἕ[λλ]ης* or *α[ὐτ]ῆς*.

15 After *μήτηρ*, perhaps [*κ*]*αὶ ἐν κακῇ* ..... *πλέον χαίρου*. With *χαίρου* cf. NT Acts 3. 8 (D) *χαιρόμενος*, *Passio Perpetuae* p. 82. 17 Gebhardt *χαίρεσθε*. The middle is the Byzantine and Modern Greek form; but the tendency is long-standing, and ascribed by Aristophanes to the barbarous Datis (*Pax* 291).

17 Probably *ἀνθρωποφαγία* again, though the space is a little short. The traces are no more than scattered spots of ink.

18 ..*ο*: before *ο* apparently *φ* or *ψ*.

22 Perhaps *εὐτυχοῦντας*.

26 *εν*: perhaps *ἐν Ὀξ*[*υρ*]*υγχείτῃ*. One expects a proper name before *μυροπώλῃ*: *Ἄρς*[*ῆ*] might suit the space here and the preserved letters in 24.

3066. Letter of Apollonius

19 2B.74/B (a) 11·5 × 16·3 cm. Third century

A private letter of agricultural instructions, written across the fibres on the back of **3054**.

↓ *Ἀπολλώνιος Σαραπάμμωνι χαίρειν.*
ἔπεμψά σοι σάκκον ἵνα λάβῃς
παρὰ τοῦ Παμέμφιος σησάμου
ἀρτάβας δύο καὶ ἀναπέμψῃς διὰ Ἀχιλλέως
5 *ἢ ἔχῃς παρὰ* [*σ*]*οὶ ε*[.].[.]*λθ*[.] *ἕως ἂν ἐρχόμε-*
νος μ...[....]....[..]*αν τοῦ ἀχύρου*
καὶ ἀπέμεινας ἀλόγως, καίτοι βου-
λομένου μου εἰπεῖν σοι τὴν διατα-
γὴν τῆς κατασπορᾶς καὶ θρυοκοπίας
10 *τ*.*ν ἐπὶ τουτωι*...*ωι καὶ ὅπως καῇ*
ἡ δεῖσα· δήλωσον οὖν μοι εἰ μὴ ἑτοί-
μως ἔχει ὁ Μῶρος ἀνελθεῖν καὶ εἰ εὗρες
παρὰ σ[*ο*]*ί· ἐργαζέσθω μετὰ Μέλανος τοῦ*
τέκτονος Πολυδεύκης ὁ μεικρὸς καὶ μὴ
15 *αὐτοῦ ἀποστάτω· ἑτοιμασθήτωσαν οὖ*(*ν*)
αἱ μηχαναί, ἵνα μὴ ἀνέτοιμοι ὦμε-
θα μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Νείλου επι[.....
τλείσθω τὰ κτήματ[*α*].
(*m.*² ?) *ἔρρωσο.*

Back ↓ (in left margin of **3054**):
20 (*m.*¹) *Σα*]*ραπάμμωνι π*(*αρὰ*) *Ἀπο*[*λ*]*λωνίου.*

2 *ἵνα* 15 *οὖ* 16 *ἵνα* 20 *π′*

'Apollonius to Sarapammon, greetings. I've sent you a sack, so that you can get two artabas of sesame from Pamemphis and send them up by Achilles or keep them with you . . . until I come and . . . of the chaff. It's unreasonable, the way you've stayed away even though I wanted to tell you the programme for the sowing and the rush-cutting . . . and how the rubbish should be burned. So let me know whether Morus is prepared to come up and whether you found (him?) with you. Little Polydeuces is to work with Melas the carpenter, and not to leave his side. So have the water-wheels ready, so that we aren't unprepared after the . . . of the Nile. The properties are to be watered. Good health!'

(Address) 'To Sarapammon from Apollonius.'

5 Possibly *ἕ*[*ν*] *Θ*[*ώ*]*λθ*[*ει*]. Then *ἕως ἂν ἐρχόμενος* or *ἕως ἀνερχόμενος*.

6 *μ*...[: probably *μετα*[, e.g. *μετα*[*φέρω*.

10 Perhaps *τῶν* (the trace is a wide one). Then *ἐπὶ τοῦ* or *ἐπὶ τούτωι*? But the dotted iotas are like no others in the piece, and *ς* might be a better reading of both.

17 *επι*[: with this preposition, the noun should refer to the rise or overflowing of the river. The normal documentary vocabulary has nothing suitable: but there would be literary backing for *ἐπίδοσιν* or *ἐπίρρυσιν* (or perhaps *ἐπίρροιαν*, cf. *εἴσροια* **1409** 19 and perhaps **2874** i 28). See D. Bonneau, *La Crue du Nil* 58–62, 69–71. Then (*ἐπ*)*αν*]|*τλείσθω τὰ κτήματ*[*α*]. The stop might come before *μετὰ* or after *Νείλου ἐπι*[ ].

3067. Letter of Achillion to Hieracapollon

19 2B.76/F (12–13) a 13 × 18·8 cm. Third century

This letter is written in an elegant hand of the chancery type. The content is meagre, and belongs to those exchanges of civil nothings which spread during the third and fourth centuries. Achillion, the writer, was apparently strategus of the

Marmarica. There is other evidence that this remote and barbarous region belonged to the province of Egypt, at least in the later second and in the third century; and **3067** cetainly gives the impression that it was a nome like others in the Egyptian system, to be governed by career civil servants with friends at Oxyrhynchus. See P. Romanelli, *Rend. Pont. Acc. di Arch.* 16 (1940) 215–23.

→ Ἀχιλλίων Ἱερακαπόλ[λ]ωνι τῷ ἀδελφῷ
χαίρειν.
μέλλων μεταπέμπεσθαι τὴν ἀδελ-
φὴν ἀναγκαίως διὰ τῶν εἰς τοῦτο ὑ-
π' ἐμοῦ διαπεμφθέντων γράφω
πρῶτον μὲν ἀσπαζόμενός σε
καὶ τὴν ἀδελφήν μου καὶ τὸν υἱὸν
ἡμῶν Διονύσιον ἔπειτα προτρε-
πόμενος γράφειν μοι περί τε τῆς σω-
τηρίας σου καὶ ὧν ἐντεῦθεν χρή-
ζεις· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιήσας ἔσει μοι
χαρι]σάμενος· δόξομεν γὰρ διὰ
τῶν γ]ραμμάτων ἀλλήλους ὁρᾶν.
(m.2) ἐρρῶσθαί [σ]ε εὔχομαι.

Back →

(m.1) Ἱερακαπόλλωνι [ἀδ]ελφῷ
(m.3) π(αρὰ) Ἀχιλλίωνος
σ[τ]ρ(ατηγοῦ) Μαρμαρικῆς.

4 ὑ- 16 π' 17 σ[τ]ρ

'Achillion to Hieracapollon his brother, greetings. Since I am in process of sending for my sister, I send you a letter, as in duty bound, by the hands of those whom I have dispatched for this purpose: a letter first to salute you and my sister and our son Dionysius; secondly to exhort you to write to me about your health and about your requirements here. Do this, and you will be doing me a favour: we shall have the impression, through our letters, of seeing one another face to face. (2nd hd.) I pray for your health.'

(Address) 'To Hieracapollon his brother (3rd hd.) from Achillion, strategus of the Marmarica.'

3068. Note about Amulet

20 3B.37/K (1–3) b 12·1 × 4·7 cm. Third century

This brief note, without name of writer or addressee, is written across the fibres; the back of the slip is blank. The writer is interested in an amulet against tonsillitis. The amulet took the form of a gold plate, magically inscribed. Such plates were in common use; hence the objections of Eusebius and Cyril of Jerusalem (Lampe, *Patr. Gr. Lex.* s.v. περίαμμα). Instructions for their making are given, for example, in PGM vii 580 f.: φυλακτήριον . . . πρὸς πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πάθος, ἐπιγραφόμενον ἐπὶ χρυσέου πετάλου κτλ. The important part was the precise wording; and the recipient of this note is instructed to copy out the formula for tonsillitis and send it to Sarmates.

↓ τὸ πρὸς παρίσθμια περίαμμα
εἰς τὸ χρυσοῦν πέταλον τῷ Σαρμάτῃ
πέμψον γρά[[.]]ψας εἰς πιττάκιον
ὡς περιέχει.

'The charm against tonsillitis on the gold plate, send it to Sarmates. Write it on a tablet word for word.'

1 παρίσθμια: not a serious complaint: Asclepius of Epidaurus treated it by gargling with cold water, Hippocrates cites it among ailments typical of older children (IG 4² (1) 126. 31; Hipp. *Aph.* 3. 26).

περίαμμα: amulets are mentioned in the magical prescriptions against various illnesses in BGU 1026 (22) 17. Cf. the curious ostracon published by Plaumann, *Archiv* 6. 220 f., where the writer several times mentions πεταλίαι and adds ἔχουσι δὲ αἱ πεταλίαι ἐπιγραφὴν ἐν φύλλοις.

3–4 It is not clear why he should send the amulet and a copy of the words as well. Probably the writer intended 'Copy out the amulet on a tablet, and send the tablet to Sarmates.'

3069. Letter of Aquila to Sarapion

21 3B.26/A (5–7) a 10 × 22·2 cm. Third/fourth century

A letter from an intellectual clique, written in an almost literary hand which I should assign to the third or early fourth century. The scribe may well be Aquila himself, since the greeting (25) is by the same hand as the main text. He seems to have used a very soft pen: the strokes are generally thick and dull, with occasional phrases in sharper and blacker lines as if he had sharpened the point. The one mark of punctuation is the rough breathing in line 5 ὁ.

The addressee was a philosopher (26). Aquila congratulates him on not flagging in his austerities, despite the difficult circumstances, and exhorts him to persist in the pursuit of virtue without yielding to worldly distractions. This sermon is familiar ground: such self-abnegation is naturally attributed by Philostratus to his assembly-kit

egg-head (*Vita Apollonii* 1. 8 and 13); Plotinus felt ashamed of existing in a body at all (Porphyry, *Vita* 1). The style is as self-conscious as the matter. Indeed the whole letter deserves to be compared with those of the Theophanes Archive, which show similar ambition in both hand and content: PHermRees 2–6, PRyl. 624, *Bull. Ryl. Lib.* 51 (1968) 177 (collected by A. Moscadi, *Aeg.* 50 (1970) 88 ff.).

→ Ἀκύλας Σαραπίωνι
χαίρειν.
κομισάμενός σου τὰ γράμ-
ματα πάνυ ἥσθην· ᾗ μάλιστα
5 ὁ ἡμέτερος Καλλίνεικος ἐμαρ-
τύρει περὶ τῆς διαίτης σου ἧς
ποιῇ καὶ ἐν τοιούτοις ὢν
πράγμασι[[ν]], μάλιστα μὴ
ἀφιστάμενος τῆς ἀσκήσεως·
10 ἄξιον οὖν ἐστιν ἐπαινεῖν ἑ-
αυτούς, οὐχ ὅτι ποιοῦμεν ταῦ-
τα ἀλλὰ ὅτι μὴ ἐξαγόμεθα
ὑφ' ἑαυτ[ῶν]· ἀνδραγάθε[ι] οὖν
καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιτέλεσον
15 ὡς ἀνη[ρ ἀ]γαθός, καὶ μ[ή σ]ε
ταρασσέ[τ]ω ἢ πλοῦτος ἢ ὥρα
ἢ ἄλλο τ[ι τ]ῶν τοιού[[ν]]των, ὡς
οὐδὲν ὄφ[ελ]ός ἐστιν ἀρετῆς
μὴ παρούσης, ἀλλὰ φροῦδα καὶ οὐ-
20 δενὸς ἄξια. θεῶν σωζόντων
προσδέχομαί σε ἐν τῇ Ἀντινόου.
τὸ σκυλάκιον πέμψον Σωτη-
ρίδι, ἐπεὶ αὐτὴ νῦν ἐν ἀγρῷ δια-
τρείβει. ἔρρω{σ}σο σὺν τοῖς σοῖς.
25 ἔρρω{σ}σο.

(*Back* →) Σαραπίωνι φιλοσόφωι
παρὰ Ἀκύλ̣ο̣υ
φίλου.

5 ὁ 13 -ε[ι] corr. from ι ?

'Aquila to Sarapion, greetings. I was overjoyed to receive your letter. Our friend Callinicus was testifying to the utmost about the way of life you follow even under such conditions—especially in your not abandoning your austerities. Yes, we may deservedly congratulate ourselves, not because we do these things, but because we are not diverted from them by ourselves. Courage! carry through what remains like a man! Let not wealth distract you, nor beauty, nor anything else of the same kind: for there is no good in them, if virtue does not join her presence, no, they are vanishing and worthless. Under divine protection, I expect you in Antinoopolis. Send Soteris the puppy, since she now spends her time by herself in the country. Good health to you and yours! Good health!'

(*Back*) 'To Sarapion the philosopher from his friend Aquila.'

1 *Ἀκύλας Σαραπίωνι*: I have not identified either of the friends, or Callinicus (line 5). Sarapion was a philosopher (26): a profession whose membership was encouraged, at least in the second century, by exemption from *munera civilia* (*Dig.* 27. 1. 6. 8, Hadrian). See the list by Calderini, *Studi . . . U. E. Paoli* 153–5.

9 *ἀσκήσεως*: for the various shades of meaning, see Pfister in *Festgabe f. A. Deissmann* 76–81. Philosophical doctrine on the subject is summarized by Bernhard Lohse, *Askese u. Mönchtum* (1969) 52 ff.

12 *ἀλλὰ ὅτι μή*: classical usage requires *οὐκ*, but *μὴ* is common in post-classical writers: see for example Schmid, *Atticismus* i 245 on Lucian.

19 *φροῦδα*: a choice word, familiar in Lucian, Aristides, etc., not in the papyri or the NT. Moeris 211. 26 Bekker commends it: *φροῦδος Ἀττικοί, ἄφαντος ἀφανὴς Ἕλληνες.*

23 *αὐτή* may refer to Soteris; or to a third party, 'the lady of the house' (**3060** 12 etc.).

3070. Indecent Proposal

39 3B.78/D (1–2) b 10·1 × 10·3 cm. Plate VIII First century

This curious piece is in fact a letter; it has been folded, and addressed on the back. But the main text, though it ends with the usual greeting, takes the form of a proclamation. This gives a mock-portentous note to the rather primitive proposition, shakily written and shakily spelt, which Apion and Epimas here offer to Epaphroditus. An equally primitive drawing in the right margin clarifies (without real necessity) their intentions.

The drawing has a label: *ψωλὴ καὶ φίκις*. *φίκις* has so far led a ghostly existence in the grammarians. Herodian i 88. 35 Lentz: disyllables in *-κις* are oxytone, *τὸ δὲ φίκις βαρύνεται*;[1] *Suda* iv 719. 24 Adler *φικιδίζειν· ἐπὶ τοῦ παιδεραστεῖν* (cf. 782. 24). The word can now be seen to have been current in the early Roman period. The genitive must be *φίκιδος*; whence *φικιδίζειν* in the same sense as *πυγίζειν*.

→ λέγει Ἀπίων
καὶ Ἐπιμᾶς Ἐπαφροδ(ίτῳ) ψωλὴ
τῶι φιλτάτ̣ῳ̣ι ὅτι
ἢ διδῦς ἡμεῖν τὸ drawing
5 πυγίσαι κ̣αὶ καλῶς καὶ φίκις

[1] Lentz emended to *Κίκις*, a proper name (allegedly of Alcaeus' brother) which Herodian cites elsewhere as paroxytone (ii 641. 3). For this reason *φίκις* appears in Stephanus, but not in LSJ or its supplement.

ϲοί ἐϲτι, οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ
δείρομέν ϲε ἐὰν δώϲῃϲ
ἡμεῖν τὸ ποιγίϲαι. ἔρρῳ(ϲο).
ἔρρω(ϲο).

10 (*Back* →) ἀπόδ(οϲ) Ἐπαφροδ(ίτῳ) τῷ φιλτάτῳ.

2 επαφροθ 4 l. εἰ διδοῖϲ 8 l. πυγίϲαι ερρω 9 ερρω 10 απο̅ επαφρο̅

2 Ἐπιμᾶϲ, if correctly read, must be the hypocoristic of Ἐπίμαχοϲ.
7 δείρομεν: 'thrash', as in the schoolmasters' motto φιλοπόνει, ὦ παῖ, μὴ δαρῇϲ (see Schubart, *Das Buch* (3rd edn., Leipzig 1961) 41).
8 ἔρρω(ϲό): faint and dirty; perhaps the writer tried to delete it, in favour of the more elegant placing in the next line.

VI. MINOR DOCUMENTS

3071. 16 2B.45/C (1–2)a. 6·7 × 23·4 cm. Reign of Decius. These line-ends come from an edict of the Prefect of Egypt, issued in the sole reign of Decius and here copied in a good cursive with touches of chancery style. The left side of the sheet is lost, and with it more than half of each line of writing (see 1 note). The back has been reused for a column of scrappy accounts, ending with a total in talents and drachmas.

The content of the edict is obscured by the damage. It has to do with Antinoites, and the avoidance and fulfilment of obligations. It results from a petition addressed to the prefect by a woman or (more probably) a city or its *boule*. The prefect rules that the defaulters must carry out their obligations, fixes a time limit of thirty days, and prescribes penalties for disobedience. It does not emerge what kind of obligation is in question: perhaps one connected with the performance and evasion of city offices (5, 8, 9, 17). Antinoite freedom from liturgies often gave rise to disputes (*Actes X Congr. Int. Pap., Varsovie*, 73 ff.), and may have some relevance here. SB 7696 illustrates the kind of case which might inspire such an edict at this date.

→ [1] ἔ]παρχο[ϲ Αἰγύ]πτου λέγει· [2]].εν μοι ὀικ[ά]ζ[ο]ψτι δια [3]]ὑπαρχούϲαϲ (ὑπ-) αὐτῇ πε- [4]]. προιϲχομένη (-ϊϲχ-) και [5]]οιϲ ἀποδιδράϲκουϲι τὰϲ [6] ἀπρ]οφαϲίϲτωϲ προαγορευ- [7]]. Ἀψτινοέων πολιτει- [8]]μεθίϲτανται τᾶϲαρ- [9]].να..ε καὶ πληρουν [10]]καθηκούϲαϲ ἢ εἴ τινι [11]]εἴϲω λ̄ ἡμερῶν κα- [12]]ων ὑπομνημάτων [13]].ϲ μὴ πιϲθεῖεν ταύτῃ [14]].εν ὀφείλοψτεϲ ταϲ [15]]. πολιτείᾳ αὐτοῖϲ ετι [16]].τα ἀπιθ.[.]τοιϲ προ- [17]].ματα εισαναιρε [18]].ϲεται προ[.....]. [19] Τ]ραιανοῦ (-αϊ-) Δεκίου [20]] *vac.*

1 The only certainly attested prefect of the reign of Decius is Aurelius Appius Sabinus. If we restore his name here, and the normal titulature in 19, we have lines of about equal length: 1 *Αὐρήλιοϲ Ἄππιοϲ Ϲαβεῖνοϲ ὁ διαϲημότατοϲ ἔ]παρχο[ϲ*; 19 (*ἔτουϲ*) *α Αὐτοκράτοροϲ Καίϲαροϲ Γαΐου Μεϲϲίου Κυίντου Τ]ραιανοῦ*. Correspondingly the lacuna in the other lines will be of *c.* 40 letters. But note that the last date for Appius Sabinus (17. 7. 250) leaves room for a successor within the sole reign of Decius.
2 Probably *ἐνέτυ]χεν*. For the phrase cf. **3017** 5 note.
8 *τᾶϲαρ*: e.g. *τὰϲ ἀρ|χάϲ*.
16].*τα ἀπιθ.*[.]: some part of *ἀπειθεῖν* suggests itself; but the trace after *θ* is most like *α* (not *ε* or *η*, hardly *ω*).
17 e.g. *εἰϲ ἃϲ ἂν αἱρε|θῶϲιν*.
18 *πρό[θεϲ?*
20 The preserved papyrus is blank. It follows that Herennius and Hostilianus were not named. The edict therefore belongs before Dec. 250 (*Aeg.* 32 [1952] 155 f.).

3072. 22 3B.19/E (1–2)b. 7·8 × 8·9 cm. *c.* A.D. 197/200. This scrap comes from the top of a column; on the back, remains of a column of accounts, including two payments to nyktophylakes. The writing is a sober and informal chancery hand.

Content and lay-out suggest comparison with W. *Chr.* 41: *commentarii* of some official, probably the strategus. Cf. **3073** and **3074**; and PSI XIV 1444 (revised by Rea, *CdÉ* 47 (1972) 236). The space between lines 3 and 4 will mark a new section, i.e. a new day. The day's record begins with some function of the imperial cult: offerings, it seems, for Septimius Severus and his prefect Aemilius Saturninus.

→ [1]]εισφερω[....]....κατα̣[[2]]χιερ.....[.]ν ὡς πρόκειται [[3]]ς̣εν εἰς τὸ θέατρον κἀκεῖ τω[[4]] (*vac.*) [[5]].ἑθυσεν ἔν τε τῷ σεβαστείῳ [[6]]αι εὐφημιω[[7]]. Περτιναν̣[[8]].ος Αἰμιλιο̣.[[9]]τωνα[

2 ἀρ]χιερο̣ς̣ύν̣[η]ν would fit the traces well (-ρω- cannot be read).
3 E.g. ἐκάθι]ς̣εν.
5 W. *Chr.* 41 ii 9–11 ἔθυσ]εν ἔν τε τῷ Καισαρείῳ κα[ὶ ἐν τῷ γυ]μνασίῳ. For the Augusteum see **2553** 12 and note.
6 PSI XII 1265. 12 (A.D. 426 or 441) εὐφη[μ]ίαις καὶ ἱερομηνίαις ταῖς γιγνομέναις ὑπὲρ νείκης καὶ διαμονῆς τῶν δεσποτῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης. Unspecified acclamations before a meeting of the Oxyrhynchite senate (A.D. 370), **2110** 2.
7–8 Mutually dependent restorations: 7 Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρο]υ Περτίνακ[ος, 8 τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἡγεμό]νος Αἰμιλίου [Σατορνίνου (prefect *c.* 197–200).

3073. 42 5B.75/G (2–4)c. 5 × 18·5 cm. Third century. Line-beginnings, in a good chancery hand, from the day-book of a strategus; the back is blank. Each day has a separate section, marked off from the next by a very extended paragraphus; the numeral which begins each section projects one letter into the margin. 6 ff. refer to the imperial cult.

→ [1] φερ[[2] προς.[[3] ωσμ[[4] ρισταμ̣[[5] ροις[[6] κη ἱερᾶς (ἱ-) [οὔσης [7] αυτο.[[8] τωντ̣[[9] Αὐρηλι[[10] καὶ ἴου[[11] καιτ[[12] καιτ[[13] ανου.[[14] δ̣ειλην.[[15] κθ ὁ στρατ[ηγὸς [16] βασιλι̣κ̣[[17] δ̣ρειαν[[18] ..].α....[

6 ἱερᾶς: or ἱερᾶς [καὶ σεβαστῆς, as in PSI 1444. 5.
7 αὐτοκ[ράτορ- could be read. 9 ff. could be restored from W. *Chr.* 41 iii 8 ff.: Αὐρηλί[ου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου εὐσεβοῦς εὐτυχοῦς σεβαστοῦ] καὶ Ἰου[λίας Μαμαίας τῆς κυρίας ἡμῶν σεβαστῆς μητέρος Σεβαστοῦ] καὶ τ[ῶν ἱερῶν στρατοπέδων ± 20] καὶ τ[οῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος (Τίτου) Μηουίου Ὀνωρατι]ανοῦ (or the same imperial titulature in the accusative). But Caracalla and Julia Domna (and the prefect Basilianus or Julianus) might suit equally well; or Aurelian and Vaballathus (and Statilius Ammianus). There seems to be no room for the pretorian prefects (W. *Chr.* 41 iii 13, PSI 1444. 7 f.).
14 περὶ]| δείλην, cf. W. *Chr.* 41 iv 13.
15 ff. The strategus and his *basilikos grammateus* left for Alexandria?

3074. 18 2B.73/J (c). 10·3 × 16 cm. Third century. Another fragment (with upper margin) from the day-book of a strategus, cf. **3072** and **3073**. A substantial portion is lost to the right, as can be seen in line 2. The hand is of chancery type. Most of the piece is taken up with a report of proceedings: the strategus investigates on the spot the disappearance of some shepherds and the wounding or death of one of them. On the back, remains of five lines in cursive.

→ [1] ̄ ̣. ὁ στρ]ατηγὸς πρὸς τῷ λογιστηρίῳ δημο...[[2] ̄ ̣. ὁ στρ]ατηγὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν περιελθὼν πρὸς τῷ λ̣[ογιστηρίῳ [3]]..τωτος ποιμένων τοπαρχίας αρ̣α̣β̣[[4] κ]ατανέμοντας ἀφανεῖς εἶναι (*m.*[2]) ὁ στρ..[′ (*m.*[1]) αμ̣....[[5]]κ̣ι βασιλικῷ γραμματεῖ καὶ τοῖς ε̣π̣ι̣τ̣ε̣τ̣[[6]]υς καὶ γενόμενος εἰς τὸ ἄνω πεδίο̣[ν [7]]αρμωτου ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρ̣α̣β̣ικοῦ διερμην[[8]]κ̣ηθηναι ὁ στρατηγὸς εἶπ(εν)· πόθεν νο...[[9]].ας ὑπονοεῖς. ἀπεκρείνατο ο.[[10] ο]ὐκ' ἔ[[ι]]σχεν τοῦ ἐχθρὸν ἔχειν. ὁ στρατη[γὸς [11] ἀπεκρ]είνατο· οὔ· ὡς κεῖται αὐτὸν εὗρον με.[[12]].. αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθης. ἀπεκρείνατο· ε̣[[13]]ην συντετριμμένην καὶ τὸν ὦμον [[14]]τινα...φ̣.....ν̣ [....].....[*remains of one more line.*

1 and 2 will have begun with the day of the month. The initial lacuna was therefore not large (and the beginning of line 11 will be complete as restored).
1 δημοσίοις (cf. W. *Chr.* 41 iii 37 etc.) cannot be read. Perhaps δημο̣γ̣..[or Δημο̣γ̣..[.
2 τὴν ἀγοράν: cf. W. *Chr.* 41 iii 31, iv 7. The end might be restored e.g. πρὸς τῷ λ̣[ογιστηρίῳ τοῖς διαφέρουσιν ἐσχόλασεν (W. *Chr.* 41 iv 8 etc.).
3 Perhaps προ]ε̣ς̣τῶτος. Ἀρ̣α̣β̣[ίας would designate a toparchy on the east bank of the Nile, as in the Panopolite (PBeattyPanop. 1. 328) and many other nomes. Cf. on 7.
4 The corrector added ὁ στρατηγὸς εἶπεν; the traces do not show whether στρατηγός was written in full or in abbreviation.
7 Ἀρ̣α̣β̣ικοῦ might be the village in the Aphroditopolite, mentioned in **1746** 7; the nome-capital was ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ (Strabo 17. 1. 35), which suits line 3. At the end, probably δι' ἑρμην[έως: parallels in Taubenschlag, *OM* ii 170.
8 Probably ἀδι]κ̣ηθῆναι. The sense may be 'mutilated', to judge from 13.
11–12 Apparently the witness answers 'No! He (the body) was lying like this when I found him ...'; the strategus asks '[Well, in what condition was he when] you left him?'
13 Perhaps τὴν κεφαλ]ή̣ν.

3075. 19 2B.74/B (c). 5·5 × 7·5 cm. Third century. Formulary for the opening of a will. This text is written along the fibres, on the back of a register or list of persons. The register mentions a βουλευτής; this, and the hand, suggest that **3075** belongs to the third century.

Witnesses to a will would attend its opening and formally recognize their seals. The words on this slip of papyrus constitute an outline subscription, in which the witness could attest his participation; the form is quite general, with τίς τινος in place of a definite subject, as in other model formularies like SB 9226 and **2677**. I have not found an exact parallel to the phrasing in extant wills: **494** 32 ff. (a Greek will) has a similar

subscription in different words; presence of witnesses and recognition of seals are combined in BGU 1655. 60 ff. and **2348** ii 51 ff. (both Roman wills).

→ [1] ....]..τίς τινος παρή[2][μην τῆς] διαθήκης ἀν[ο]ι[3][γομέν]ης καὶ ἐπέγνων [4] [.....]. σφραγεῖδα [5] [.....].

'...I, X son of X, was present at the opening of the will and recognized (my?) seal.'

1 ....]..: *Αὐρήλι]ος* would suit the traces; but it is really too long, unless the line projected into the left margin. Did the first word designate the documentary type, as in SB 9226? Alternatively, the whole thing could be a name ....]...*ιστῖνος*; but I can find none which fits.

1–2 *παρή[μην*: the spacing requires the long form, cf. the certain supplement in 3.

3 *ἐπέγνων*: the *ν* is doubtful; it does not account for a low point of ink below the first upright. But *ἐπέγνω* and *ἐπέγνωι* leave further ink unaccounted for.

4 The trace before *σφραγεῖδα* looks most like *η* with cross-bar projecting; not e.g. *ν*, unless it had an unexpected linking-stroke. *ὑγι]ῆ* might be relevant, see BGU 1655. 62; but I don't see how to fit it in. The final trace in 5, a high horizontal stroke, has the appearance of a paragraphus (rather than an extended final letter): so that the sense should be complete with *σφραγεῖδα*.

3076. 27 3B.43/F (3–4) b. 8·8 × 10 cm. *c.* A.D. 225. Plate XI. This scrap, from the top right-hand corner of a document, cites a petition to Ti. Clau. Herennianus, who assumed the prefecture on direct orders from Rome when the removal of Epagathus left it vacant (**2705** 12 etc.). The writing is of some interest: a good round hand with occasional serifs; beta with extended base-line, kappa with the upper oblique flattened. I should have assigned it to the mid second century, but for the content; cf. Roberts *GLH* 11b, an early dated example. The back is blank, except for one trace of ink.

→ [1] (*m.*[2])]υ [2] (*m.*[1])].ων ὑπατικοῦ Συρίας [3]].ον βιβλείδιον ... [4] δικαιοδ]ότῃ διέποντι [κ]αὶ [5]].[....]ρ....[[6]].. παρὰ Ἰουλίου Ἀμ- [7]].ω τῷ κρατίστῳ δικαιοδότῃ [8] οὕ]τως ἔχι // Τιβερίῳ Κλαυδίῳ [9] [Ἑρεννιανῷ τῷ κρατίστῳ δικαιοδότῃ διέποντι καὶ τὰ] μέρη τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐκ θείας [10] [κελεύσεως παρὰ *c.* 30] τῶν ἐντείμως ἀπολυθέντων [11] [*c.* 42]ειδη. [.]εωστων μοι ἡγεμών [12] [*c.* 42].κυλ.[.].μα ἄλλῳ κατὰ χειρογρα *traces of one more line before the break.*

2].ων: the trace is an oblique foot, e.g. *ν*. *ὑπατικοῦ* (read by Turner) seems unavoidable (*τ* has been corrected from *π*). This *consularis Syriae* is not named; probably the words form part of a longer phrase, which describes one of the military men involved in the case (cf. 10); compare e.g. *Inscr. gr. et lat. de Syrie* ii 448. 5 f. (A.D. 195) *βοηθῷ κορνικουλαρίων ὑπατικοῦ*.

3 ...: the first has a curved back. E.g. *ἐ̣πι̣!*[*δοθέν*.

11 Perhaps *χ*[*ρ*]*εωστῶν*.

12 After].*κυλ*, *ε* or *ο*. E.g. *Π*]*εκύλου ἅμα ἄλλῳ* (Turner).

3077. A. [13] B4/4 (c) 1. 5×9·5 cm. A.D. 231/2. This census return, which mentions the *dux* M. Aurelius Zeno Januarius, was first printed and discussed in *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology* (1970) 397. The text is reprinted here with minor amendments. Another document was originally glued on to the left; on the back, an account or register.

→ [1] *π(αρὰ) Αὐρηλίων Ματρεο*[*c.* 19] [2] *ρυ μητ(ρὸς) Διεῦτος καὶ* .[*c.* 19] [3] *ἀμφοτ(έρων) ἀπ' Ὀξ(υρύγχων) πόλεως· κ*[*ατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ*] [4] *Αὐρηλίου Ζήνωνος Ἰα*[*νουαρίου* (ἴα-) *τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου)*] [5] *στρατηλάτου καὶ Κλαυ*[*δίου Μασκουλείνου*] [6] *τοῦ λαμπρότατα ἡγεμ*[*ονεύσαντος ἀπογρ(αφόμεθα) πρὸς*] [7] *τὴν τοῦ διελθ(όντος) θ* (*ἔτους*) *Μάρ*[*κου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου*] [8] *Ἀλεξάνδρου καίσαρος τ*[*οῦ κυρίου κατ' οἰκίαν*] [9] *ἀπογρ(αφὴν) τὸ ὑπάρχον ἡμε*[*ῖν c.* 17] [10] *νικ*.[....]*ρμερ*[.]...[*c.* 19] [11] *η*.[.....]. *ιουθεω*.[*c.* 19] [12] *c*[.....].*ατρεου*[*c.* 19] [13] *ρ*.[.....]...[*traces of one more line before the break.*

'From the Aurelii Matres (?) ..., mother Dieus, and ..., both from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In accordance with the orders of Aur. Zeno Januarius the most illustrious *dux* and Claudius Masculinus the most illustrious former prefect, we register for the house-to-house registration of the past 9th year of Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar the lord the ... which belongs to us ...'

9–10 Perhaps *ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ποιμε*]*νικῆ*[*c* ...]*ς μέρ*[*ο*]*ς ἡμ*[*ιεν*; but I can think of nothing to go before *μέρος*;]*ς* is very likely; not]*ρ*. *Ποιμε*]*νικ*(*ῆς*) .[....]*ς* is also possible.

11 E.g. (*πρότερον*) *Αὐρη*]*λίου Θέων*[*ος*.

12] *Ματρεου*[.

3078. 19 2B.76/A (a). 10·2 × 7·1 cm. Second century. Oracle-question. This is a text of familiar type: see most recently R. A. Coles, *JEA* 53 (1967) 121. There are three points of interest. Helios-Sarapis has the unusual epithet *νικαφόρος*, with Doric alpha. The subject is an eye-ailment: such maladies are so prevalent in Egypt, that Hermes himself produced a manual of treatment (Cumont, *L'Égypte des astrologues* 173). The text itself is abnormally clear and literate, and the basic structure certain: *τοῦτό μοι δός* forms the apodosis of the conditional, and means 'return this slip to me.' (Similarly in **2613** the stop should come before *εἰ μέλλω*.) See Coles, op. cit. 122. The back is blank.

↓ [1] *Διὶ* (*διϊ*) *Ἡλίωι Σαράπιδι Νικαφόρωι· εἰ ἐ*[2]*πιτρέπεις μοι χρήσασθαι Ἑρμείνωι* [*Ἑ*]*ρ*[3]*μοπολίτηι ἰατρῶι* (ἴα-) *πρὸς θεραπείαν* [4] *τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ τοῦτό μοι συμφέρει,* [5] *τοῦτό μοι δός.* [6] ...[]*διειλαμ*....[..].

1 *νικαφόρωι*: epithet of many deities, but not so far as Sarapis: see Pauly–Wissowa s.v. Nikephoros

(1). The Doric form occurs again in Alexander's letter to the Amazons, Ps.-Call. p. 126. 9 Kroll. Is it a learned touch, like the adscript iotas?

6 This line is indented *c.* 6 letters. κα̣ὶ (but not ναί) διειλάμην̣ ..[(or κα̣τ[α]διειλάμην̣ ..[) would be acceptable readings. The space is short for Ϛαρ[άπι]δι.

3079. 22 3B.21/N (3–4)a. 15 × 26·5 cm. Fourth century. A list of ships, with their owners, captains, and cargoes (or capacities): cf. **2415**. The transcript begins with the first complete entry; there are traces of at least three lines above. On the back, remains of two columns of accounts in denarii.

→ [1] πλοῖον Λι.....[.....]..... [2] (*vac.*) [.....]..[.]. [3] πλοῖον Ἰουλιανοῦ Ἀμμ[..... ὑ]π̣ὸ Ἀπφοῦν [4] κυβερνήτην [(ἀρτ.)].ψμιζ [5] πλοῖον Λευκαδίου ὑπὸ Σάλβι̣[ο]ν κυβερ(νήτην) (ἀρτ.) Ἐϛιβ [6] πλοῖον Σαραπίωνος σπεκουλ(άτορος) ὑπὸ Ἡράκλειον [7] κυβερνήτην (ἀρτ.) τιη [8] πλοῖον Εὐλογίου Ματρίνου ὑπὸ Ἀπφοῦν [9] κυβερνήτ[[ου]]ην (ἀρτ.) ωλ

5 κυβερ 6 σπεκουλ'

'Boat of L.... (3) Boat of Julianus (son of Ammonius?), under Aphous as captain, ( ),747 (artabas). Boat of Leucadius, under Salvius as captain, 3,212 art. Boat of Sarapion the *speculator*, under Heraclius as captain, 318 art. Boat of Eulogius son of Matrinus, under Aphous as captain, 830 art.'

1 The last letter is apparently ρ with an abbreviation stroke. Probably κ]υβερ(νήτην): line 2, where we expect the word, is blank except for a figure at the end.

3080. 27 3B.43/E (1–3)a. 10·5 × 12·3 cm. Second century. An 'order' for various household utensils and supplies. The back is blank.

→ [1] ἐντολὴ Πετεύριος πρὸς Πλου²τίωνα φίλον. [3] λα̣[.].κ̣ηνον τέλειον α [4] ἐλαίου ξενικοῦ χοῦν [ ] [5] πορφύρας παρατύπου στατ(ῆρες) ι [6] λαγύνιον ὑελοῦν σὺν θήκῃ [7] νεώτερον [8] σφθα̣ροληκ̣ύθου κρ.[.].οι β

'Instruction of Peteuris to his friend Plution. Laodicean garment (?), in perfect condition, 1, Foreign oil, a chous. False purple, 10 staters. Glass flagon with case, fairly new. 2 rings (?) for the globe oil-flask (?).'

3 λα̣[.].κ̣ηνον: κη (rather than και or μι) seems the best reading of the cursive group; before that the foot of a descender. λα̣[δ]κ̣ηνόν would fit (λα[υ- probably too long), but its credentials are dubious, see LSJ Suppl. s.v. λαυδικη(νόν?).

5 παρατύπου: of false money, **1411** 12; of false measure, SB 9454 (2) 10. Possibly this is the imitation purple made from madder (PHolm. 26. 29 ff.); fabric so dyed is ψευδοπόρφυρον, **1051** 15.

8 There might be room for a narrow letter between φ and θ. If the reading printed is right. I suppose the theta must be intrusive; σφαιροληκυθος might be an oil-flask of the globular type (D. B. Harden, *Roman Glass from Karanis* 253).

κρ.[.].οι: after ρ the top of a high vertical. Possibly κρίκοι, though it is short for the space. Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertum* i 125 shows a globular flask which is attached to its bucket-handle by two bronze rings.

3081. 19 2B.75/K (4)a. 11 × 31·5 cm. Third century. A short account of jars, written on the back of **3050**.

↓ [1] .....]ϛχον κεραμίων [2] .....ων ἀπο̣κ̣ειμένων [3] παρὰ Διο̣γένην $\overline{\rho\lambda\gamma}$ [4] τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ $\bar{\alpha}$ [5] παρὰ Χαρμόσυνον $\bar{\beta}$ [6] Ἐπεὶφ $\overline{\kappa\alpha}$ εἰς οἶκόν μου $\bar{\alpha}$ [7] $\overline{\kappa\delta}$ εἰς οἶκόν μο̣υ̣ ..... [8] ἀνακεκαλυμμένον $\bar{\alpha}$

'...Jars ... in store with Diogenes, 133. The first day, 1. For Charmosynus, 2. Epeiph 21, for my house, 1. 24th, for my house ... uncovered, 1.'

1]ϛχον rather than ἕ]ϛχον.

5 Χαρμόσυνον: the name (one example in Pape–Benseler) seems more likely than a reference to the festival Χαρμόσυνα.

8 ἀνακεκαλυμμένον: an opened jar? Cf. **1297** 9. I don't see what the word would mean if it belonged to οἶκον.

3082. 5 1B.33/A (a). 9 × 11·4 cm. Third century. Agathus, occupied with embarking the *annona*, protects his mother by letter: this letter to Phanias, perhaps the village scribe; another to someone else, perhaps the village headman.

→ [1] Ἄγαθος Φανίᾳ τῶι [2] ἀδελφῷ πλεῖστα χαίρειν. [3] καλῶς μὲν ἐποίησας [4] δηλώσας μοι περὶ τῆς μητρός, [5] κρεῖτ³τον δὲ ποιήσεις ἐπιστὰς [6] ἔστ' ἂν μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐνο⁷χληθῇ· ἔγραψα δὲ περὶ τού⁸του τῷ ἡγουμένῳ· καὶ αὐτὸς [9] δὲ ἀνελθεῖν βουλόμενος [10] οὐ δεδύνημαι μόνος [[γαρ]] [11] ἐν τῇ ἐμβολῇ [[εἰμι]] ὤν. [12] ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι. *Back* → [13] Φανίᾳ ...γρ( ) π(αρὰ) Ἀγάθο̣υ ἀδ̣ε̣λ(φοῦ).

'Agathus to Phanias his brother, very many greetings. You did well to let me know about Mother, and you will do better to stay by her until she stops being bothered. I've written to the headman about this. I should like to come up myself, but haven't been able to, having no one with me in the loading of the corn. I pray for your health.'

(*Back*) 'To Phanias ... from Agathus his brother.'

8 ἡγουμένῳ: he might be a village official (PRyl. 196. 9–10 note), though I have not found him attested for the Oxyrhynchite nome; but equally he may head a professional group (γερδίων PGrenf. ii 43. 9), or work for an official (τοῦ στρατηγοῦ **294** 19).

Back. The word after Φανίᾳ seems to end in -γρ( ); the first letter might be kappa; but κωμογρ(αμματεῖ) doesn't really fit the traces, nor does βαϛ γρϛ.

3083. 22 3B.16/A (1–4) a. 13·5 × 9·2 cm. Third century. A business note, written on the back (across the fibres) of a piece cut from a roll of accounts. There is no address.

↓ [1] *Αὐρήλιος Σαραπιακὸς Διοσκόρῳ τῷ* [2] *τιμωτάτῳ χαίρειν.* [3] *ἴσθι ἡμᾶς μόνας ὀφείλοντας Καλπουρνίῳ* [4] *(ἀρτάβας) λδ̄ καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ.* [5] *ἐὰν οὖν ἐπείγητε* (l. -ται) *μετρηθήτωσαν αὐτῷ* [6] *αἱ (ἀρτ.) λδ̄· καὶ οὐκ ἐγένου εἰς τὸν βορρᾶ ἕνεκεν* [7] *τῶν φυλάκων οὔτε ἀφεῖκας τὸν γέροντα ἐνέγκαι· ἐξαυ*[8]*τῆς οὖν ἢ πέμψον ἢ σὺ γενοῦ ἐκεῖ καὶ ἔνεγκον* [9] *αὐτούς. ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχο(μαι).*

'Aurelius Sarapiacus to Dioscorus his most honoured friend, greetings. You must know that we owe Calpurnius only 34 artabas, and the remainder from my brother's. So if he is pressed, have the 34 art. measured out to him. You haven't been to the north about the guards, and you haven't let the old man go to bring (them). So either send him, or go there yourself and bring them, at once. I pray for your health.'

3084. 29 4B.44/G (2–3)a. 11 × 11 cm. Second to third century. A business-like note: 'The prefect is said to have arrived in the Heracleopolite on the 24th.' The point may be an implied warning: the prefect is already near the borders of the Oxyrhynchite; the addressee Themistocles should make haste to put the affairs of his *ἐπιτροπή* in order before the inspection begins.

→ [1] *Ἡράκλειος Θεμιστοκλεῖ τῶι* [2] *τιμωτάτωι χαίρειν.* [3] *ὁ κράτιστος ἡγεμὼν λέγεται ἐν* [4] *τῷ Ἡρακλεοπολείτῃ γεγονέναι* [5] *τῇ κδ̄ ἑσπέρας· ὅπερ ἵν' εἰδῇς,* [6] *κύριέ μου, γράφω σοι. ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομ(αι)* [7] *κύριέ μου πανοικ(εὶ) εὐτυχοῦντ(α). Back* → [8] *Θεμιστοκλεῖ ἐπιτρόπωι.*

'Heraclius to Themistocles his most honoured friend, greetings. His Excellency the prefect is said to have arrived in the Heracleopolite on the 24th at evening. I write to let you know this, my lord. I pray for your health, my lord, in good fortune with all your household.'
Back 'To Themistocles the procurator.'

1 *Θεμιστοκλεῖ*: not identifiable. The name is fairly common in the first century A.D. (**1661** 4–5 n.); thereafter only SB 9305 and **103** (a gymnasiarch and prytanis, A.D. 316).
3 *κράτιστος*: the title suggests a date not much later than the second century (Stein, *Die Präfekten* 177 f.), though the hand would allow more latitude.

3085. 22 3B.15/C (6–9)b. 8·8 × 11 cm. Third century. Financial arrangements, and a threat to back them up, written across the fibres in a practised cursive. The back has traces of ink.

↓ [1] *Ἑρμείας Σαραπίωνι τῷ* [2] *φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν.* [3] *ἀλόγως ἀποστὰς οὐ καλῶς* [4] *ἐποίησας ἔχων τὴν τι*[5]*μὴν τοῦ χοιριδίου ἐν* [6] *(δρ.) ξ· καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις με*[7]*ταβαλόμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ* [8] *τῷ διδόντι σοι τὴν ἐπι*[9]*στολήν, ἀφ' οὗ τὰς ἴσας (ϊ-)* [10] *ἤδη ἔσχον· μὴ τοίνυν* [11] *ποιήσῃς με σκυ.....* [12] *ἀλόγως, ἵνα (ϊ-) μηδὲ τὰ ἀν*[13]*αλώματα ἀπαιτήσω σε.* [14] *[ἔ]ρρωσο.*

'Hermias to Sarapion his very dear friend, greetings. You ought not to have gone off unreasonably with the price of the pig i.e. 60 dr. So kindly pay it over to Alexander, the man who brings you this letter, from whom I've received the same sum. So don't involve me in unreasonable bother (?), otherwise I may claim the expenses from you too. Good health.'

6 (δρ.) ξ: a substantial pig, to judge from the prices listed by Johnson, *Roman Egypt* 231 f.
11 Apparently not *σκυλῆναι*; *σκύλλεσθαι* might just be possible.

3086. 4 1B.61/K (a). 15·3 × 7·6 cm. Third/fourth century. A business note, written across the fibres (and parallel with the greater dimension) of a slip of papyrus. The hand is an elegant upright cursive of the third or early fourth century. There is no address on the back, though folds parallel with the writing are clearly visible.

↓ [1] *Νεμεσιανὸς Κολλούθῳ τῷ φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν.* [2] *ὁ Σύρος πρὸ πολλοῦ τὸ τάλαντον εἴληφε καὶ Νεῖλος ἔτι πάλαι* [3] *(ταλ.) α (δρ.) ψ, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς δὲ αὐτῷ μετεβαλόμεθα· μὴ οὖν τ̣αρασσέτω* [4] *πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ ἀμέμπ̣τ̣ως ἡμῖν κοινωνοῦντα·* [5] *τὴν δὲ λοιπάδα οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ οὖσαν τοῖς λινούφοις (-ϋφ-) τήρη[σο]ν* [6] *μηδὲν βλαπτόμενος· ἐν γὰρ τούτοις αἱ σπουδαὶ τῶν* [7] *φίλων φαίνονται. (m.*[2]*?) ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι.*

'Nemesianus to Colluthus his very dear friend, greetings. Syrus had the talent a long time ago, and Nilus the 1 tal. 700 dr. ages ago, and we paid over the remainder to him as well. So let him not stir up against us a man who has been a perfect partner to us for such a long time (?). Keep the remainder, which isn't large, for the linen-weavers; it will do you no harm. It's in these things that the active benevolence of one's friends shows itself. (2nd hd.?) I pray for your health.'

3087. 23 3B.8/F (4–5)a. 10·5 × 22·5 cm. Third/fourth century. An ill-spelt letter, written (both text and final greeting) by a practised hand; the back is blank. Pataris believes himself to have rented a certain area; Ptolemaeus and Heraclius claim it instead; Nunechium is to determine the facts.

→ [1] *κυρίᾳ Νουνειχίῳ Πατάρι(ν)* [2] *χαίριν.* [3] *καθὼς συνεχώρησέν μ[[ου]]οι* [4] *Διόσκορος ὁ ταιλώνης τὰ ὅρια* [5] *τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος μέχρι τῆς κα*[6]*λαμείας τῆς Βαρσιάδος* [7] *(δρ.)φ απ..θα δε καὶ ἠργασάμη(ν)* [8] *εἰς τὰ ἐμεισθωσάμην* [9] *καὶ οὐκ αἰπετράπην ὑπὸ Πτο*[10]*λαιμαίου καὶ Ἡρακλ[[ ]]ε'ου,* [11] *εἰ μὲν δέδωκαι ἐκ τῶν ἐμεισ*[12]*θωσάμην 'Διόσκορος' γράψον μοι*

καὶ οὐ[13]*κ ἐργάζομαι εἰς αὐτὰ τ̣ὰ ὅ*[14]*ρια, ἰ δὲ τὸ ὅρι̣ον τὸ τῆς Τα*[15]*κόνα αὐτοῖς δ̣έ̣δωκαι γράψο(ν)* [16] *μοι και οὐκ αἰπιτρείπ[[.]]ω αυτο̣* [17] *τοις εἰς τὰ ἡμῶν ἔρχαιςται.* [18] *οἶδε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Διόςκορος* [19] *ὅτι εἶδοὺ τριάκοντα ἔτη* [20] *ἔχω τὰ ὅρια τα̣ῦτα.* [21] *ἔρωςόν μοι πολλοῖς χρόνοις.*

4 l. *τελ-* 8 l. *εἰς ἃ* 9 l. *ἐπετρ-* 11 l. *δέδωκε, ἐξ ὧν* 14 *ἴ* 15 l. *δέδωκε γραψῶ* 16 l. *ἐπιτρέπω* 17 l. *ἔρχεςθαι* 21 l. *ἔρρωςο*

'To my lady Nunechium, Pataris sends greetings. As Dioscorus the tax-farmer conceded me the area of Helicon as far as the reed-bed at Bassias for 500 dr., and I went off (?) and worked on what I had rented and was stopped by Ptolemaeus and Heraclius—if Dioscorus has given (them) part of what I rented, write to me and I won't work on that area; but if he has given them the area at Tacona, write to me and I'll stop them coming on to our property. Dioscorus himself too knows that it's now thirty years that I've had this area. Good health for many years.'

1 *Νουνειχίῳ*: Pape–Benseler cites solitary examples of *Νουνεχία* and *Νουνέχιος*.
Πατάρι(ν): the scribe seems to have written the final *ιν* in full, and then overwritten it with *ῖ*: l. *Πατάριε* or *-ρεῖς*?
4–6 Helicon at least should be a place-name, like Tacona in 14 f. Neither Helicon nor Bassias is among the geographical names in *WB* iii or *WB Suppl.* iii.
6 *Βα̣ς̣ς̣ιάδος*: not *Βακχιάδος*.
7 (*δρ.*) *ϕ*: the figure is much overwritten, with traits of *γ* and *α* (?) as well.
απ̣..θαδε: the trace suggests *απαρθα*: for *ἀπῆλθα δέ*?
16 Apparently *αυτοῖ*, i.e *αὐτοῖ(ς)*, with *-τοις* repeated in 17 by mistake.

INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. An asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in LSJ or Suppl. Square brackets indicate that a word is substantially restored, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. Words completely restored, i.e. of which no portion is extant in the text, are not indexed; nor is the article.

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Αὐρήλιος see Ἀμμώνιος, Ἀντίπατρος ὁ καὶ Διονύσιος, Ἀντωνῖνος, Ἀρποκρατίων, Ἀσκληπιάδης, Ἀφοῦς, Δε.των, Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ Ἀντώνιος, Διόσκορος, Ἑρμοκλ-, Ζήνων Ἰα[νουάριος, Θέων, Ἱέραξ, Ἰουλιανὸς Μάξιμος, Καλλίνικος, Μαρκιανὸς ὁ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, Ματρέας(?), *Πάλλας ὁ καὶ Δίδυμος, Πέκυλλος ὁ καὶ Θέων, Πολιτικός, Σαραπιακός, Σαραπίων, Σερηνοθέων, Τιβέριος.*
Ἀφοῦς, Aur., taxman **3043** 8.
Ἀφῦγχις, f. of Anubion **3039** 8.
Ἀχιλλεύς **3066** 4.
Ἀχιλλίων, strategus of the Marmarica **3067** 1, 16.

Βαβίδιος Ῥοῦφος, xenokrites **3016** 6.
Βαλσαμέα, Mesopotamian slave-girl **3053** 15.

Γάιος see Ἰούλιος Πόστομος.
Γέμινος see Κλ(αύδιος) Γ.

Δε.των, M. Aur., s. of Silvanus (?) **3053** 14.
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Δημητ( ) see Χαιρήμων ὁ καὶ Δ.
Δημήτριος, f. of Isidorus, gd.-f. of M. Aur. Marcianus alias Heracles **3053** 8.
Δημήτριος, gymnasiarch **3063** 4.
Δημήτριος, strategus **3025** 1, 7.
Διδ[**3015** 14.
Διδύμη **3059** 1, *back*.
Δίδυμος **3031** 3.
Δίδυμος, systates **3039** 12 **3040** 9.
Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ Ἀντώνιος, Aur., senator, s. of Sarapammon, gd.-s. of Phanias, etc. **3049 A** 1, **B** 1.
Δίδυμος see also Αἴλιος Δ., Μετίλιος Δ., Πάλλας ὁ καὶ Δ.
Διεῦς, m. of Aur. Matres(?) **3077** 2.
Διογ- see *Αἴλιος Δ.*
Διογένης **3063** 1.
Διογένης **3081** 3.
Διογένης see also Ἄννιος Δ.
Διόδωρος ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος **3047** 13.
Διονυς( ) (ex-)exegetes **3034** 12.
Διονύσιος **3019** 14.
Διονύσιος **3067** 8.
Διονύσιος, f. of Isidorus **3021** i 6.
Διονύσιος, f. of Paulus **3037** 11.
Διονύσιος, s. of Pataesis **3064** 9.
Διονύσιος see also Ἀντίπατρος ὁ καὶ Δ., Φλ(άουιος) Δ.
Διόσκορος **3083** 1.
Διόσκορος, tax-farmer **3087** 4, 12, 18.
Διόσκορος, M. Aur., boat-owner **3053** 18.
Διόσκορος ὁ καὶ Ἀνουβίων, royal scribe of Metelite **3026** i 15.
Δωρίων, eclogistes of Metelite **3026** i 10, 14.
Δωσίθεος see Index VI(*b*).

Εἶος, M., ex-*praef. Aeg.* **3033** 6.
Ἐκουίτιος Κλαυδιανός, xenokrites **3016** 8.
Ἐξακῶν, f. of Sarapion, gd.-f. of Antiochus **3047** 14.
Ἐπαφρόδιτος **3070** 2, 10.
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Ἐπιμᾶς **3070** 2.
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Ἑρμεῖνος, Hermopolite doctor **3078** 2.
Ἑρμῆς **3062** 8.
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Εὐάγγελλος **3058** 20.
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Εὐδαμία see Καλπουρνία Ἡράκλεια ἡ καὶ Εὐ.
Εὐλόγιος, s. of Matrinus, boat-owner **3079** 8.

Ζακάων, s. of Lucius, donkey-driver **3042** 6.

VI. GEOGRAPHICAL

(*a*) Countries, Nomes, Toparchies, Cities, etc.

(*b*) Villages, etc.

(*c*) Tribes and Demes

(*d*) Miscellaneous

VII. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES

VIII. RELIGION

IX. PROFESSIONS, TRADES, AND OCCUPATIONS

X. WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND MONEY

(*a*) Weights and Measures

(*b*) Money

XI. TAXES

XII. GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS

XIII. LATIN (3016)

2999

3010

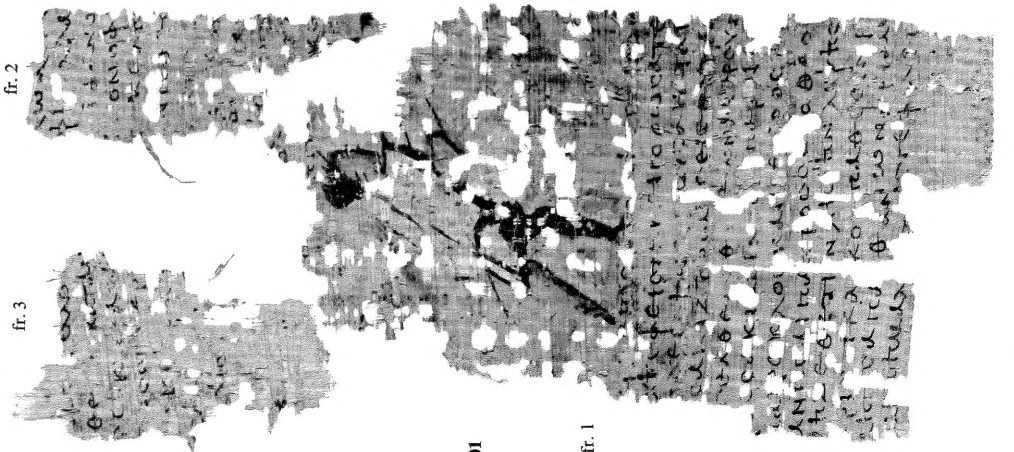
3004

3005

3000

PLATE II

3013

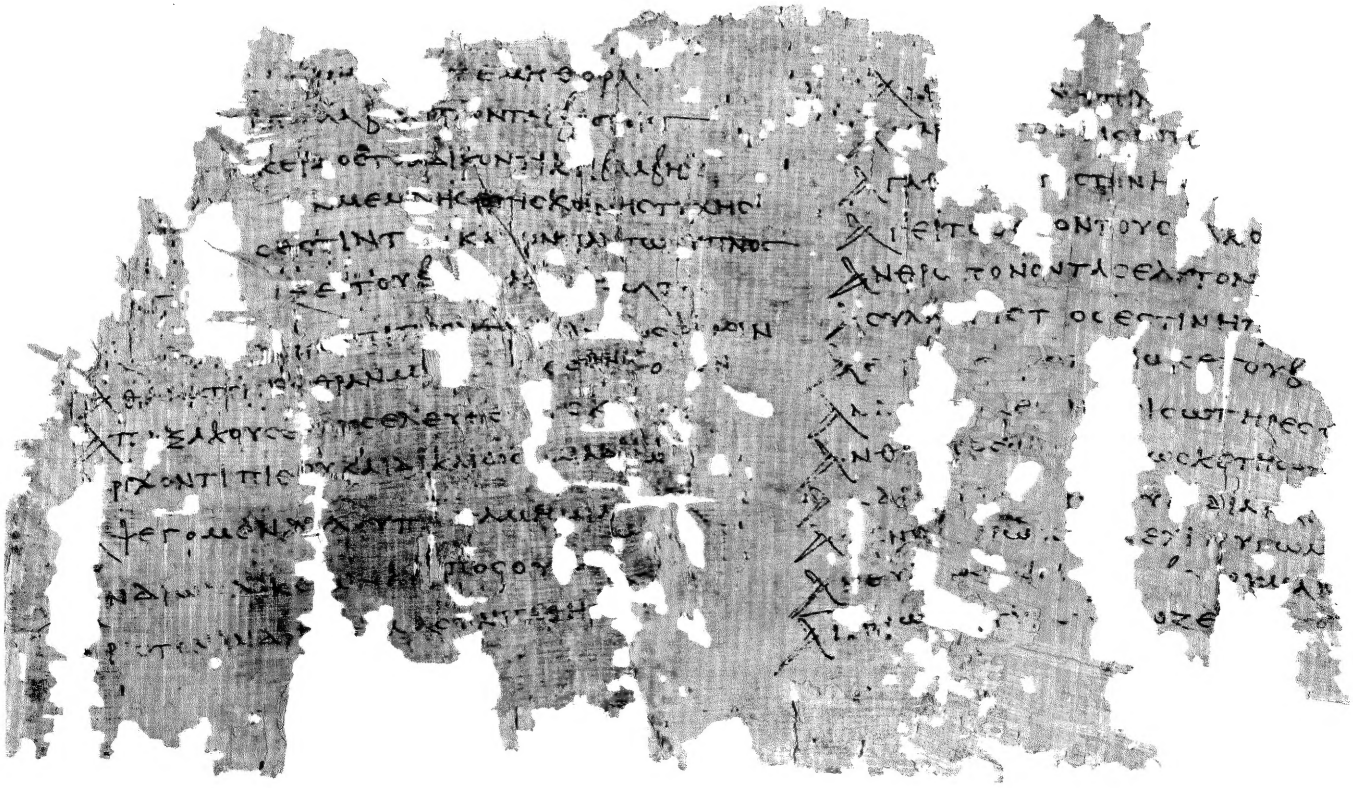


fr. 2

fr. 3

3001

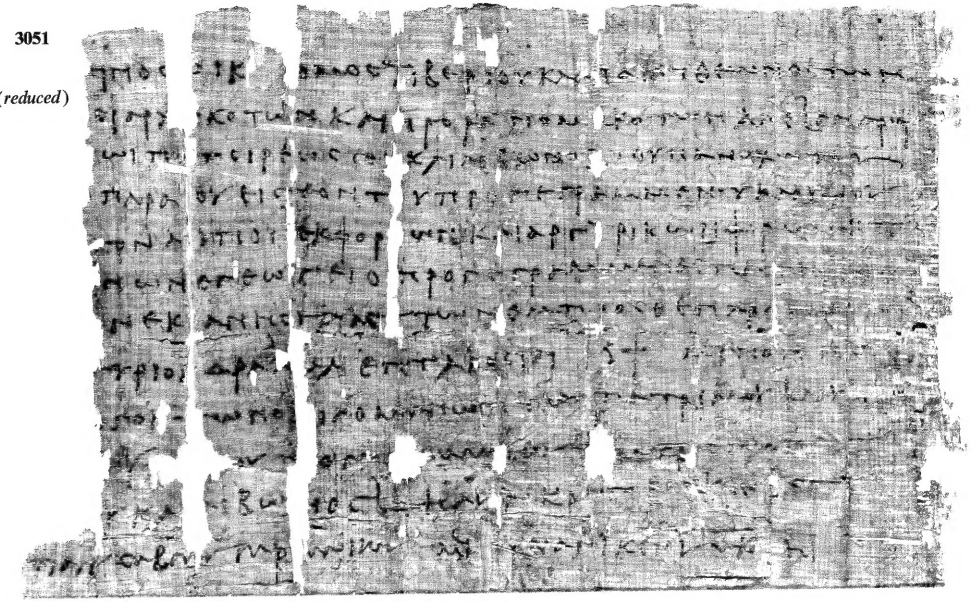
fr. 1

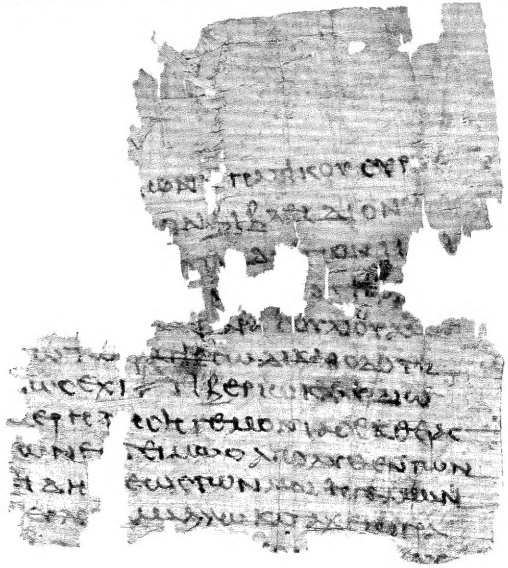


3006 (*slightly reduced*)

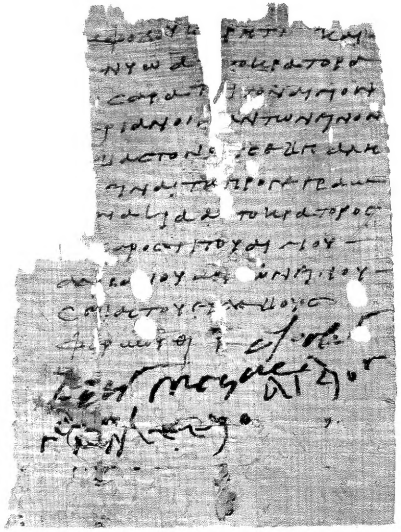
3051

(*reduced*)





3076



3034